

NO. XLII.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
GENERAL REVIEW.

NEW SERIES.—NO. XII.

DECEMBER 31, 1830.

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BOSTON, GRAY & BOWEN, 141 WASHINGTON STREET.

LONDON, ROWLAND HUNTER, AND O. RICH, RED LION SQUARE.

LIVERPOOL, EDWARD WILLMER, LORD STREET.

1830.

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- ART. I.—1. *A Lecture on the Working Men's Party, first delivered October 6, before the Charlestown Lyceum, and published at their Request.* By EDWARD EVERETT.—Boston: Gray & Bowen. 1830. 8vo. pp. 27.
2. *Mr Tuckerman's Second Semi-annual Report of the Fourth Year of his Service as a Minister at Large in Boston.* Gray & Bowen. 1830. 12mo. pp. 36.

THE popular governments under which we esteem ourselves fortunate to live, depend for their success in promoting the prosperity of the state and the nation, on the truth of the axiom that there can be no permanent diversity of interest between any classes of the people. Identity of interest, for all large and general purposes, is taken for true in the theory of our republic; and if it be not true, if there be serious and conflicting interests, which different classes maintain, irreconcilable with any common course of policy in which all may unite, it is not difficult to foresee what must be the tendency of this grand experiment of freedom. And in a government so entirely depending on popular opinion, it is scarcely less necessary that no such diversity of interest should be supposed to exist, than that none should in fact exist; for here, certainly, the sentiment of the poet is no fiction, that 'there is nothing good or bad but *thinking* makes it so.'

We may be excused, therefore, for resuming the subject to which we paid some attention in our last number; and we place at the head of this article two productions having a direct bearing upon it. The first is a striking and beautiful illustration of the mysterious connexion of body and mind, and the necessa-

ry union of physical and intellectual power for all the avocations of life. It bears the impress of genius, and like all the productions of its classic author, is calculated to instruct and improve its readers. We invite to it the early attention of all who feel any interest in this popular subject. The other refers to the actual state and condition of a large and growing class of the community; those, who, by ignorance, poverty, or crime, hang with heavy weight on society. The details which it presents, and the suggestions which are made by its philanthropic and intelligent author, are deserving of very careful regard.

In directing our attention, as we did in our former article, in the first instance to the class of affluent men, it was not by any means from a belief that they were the most important or deserving class of society. But as gain is the great object and the moving impulse of a laboring and active community, it seemed to be proper to inquire who were most forward in the chase, and whether there was any congregation of individuals, who might possess the spirit of a class, distinguished by selfish objects, in which their fellow citizens had no part.

We suppose that wealth, in our community, can very rarely be the harvest of rapacity or crime; and we are not willing to believe that it can in general be fairly considered to be gathered from exactions on the poor. It is sometimes said, that the luxuries of the rich are paid for by the poor. But is it so? Where the public treasury, which is mostly supplied by contributions of the industrious classes, pours out its abundance in pensions, sinecures and salaries, enormously disproportioned to the services for which they are paid, the assertion might be justified. But here there is no such prodigality. Public office rarely makes any man rich. If the compensation paid to the servants of the state is in any case excessive, it is nevertheless fixed by the people, and at their pleasure may be curtailed. Great competition exists to enlist in that service. But rank, power, and honor, form no small part of the inducement, and the emolument is sought for, not so much to accumulate a fortune, as to sustain life.

We do not of course mean to include every individual case in our general remarks. There are exceptions in this as in other rules. But if, as a general assertion, it may be safe to say, that the acquisition of fortune does not imply anything at variance with the common good, how is it in the expenditure?

Here, again, there are great differences in individual cases. But we can deal with the subject only as it presents itself on the whole. We can examine it only in its broad and general outlines, and in its indications of general character. It has such a character, as distinctive and well defined as the national character of which here and everywhere it makes a very considerable part. Of diffusion of wealth by charity or enterprise, it is not necessary to say anything. To the former we have already adverted, and the latter is seen in the vast establishments of commerce, the magnificent edifices of manufacturing industry, the roads, canals, wharves, stores and public edifices, which contribute to the prosperity and ornament of our country. It is rather to humbler and narrower fields, that our inquiries now lead, because these, in want perhaps of more attractive ones, are made the more recent subject of animadversion. The personal enjoyments of the affluent are sometimes the causes of uneasiness, and offer occasions for expressions of slight regard. But the matter candidly considered, does not give much cause of complaint. What is luxury, but a tax which wealth pays to labor? What would be the condition of many of our most respectable and industrious citizens, if this tax were not very liberally levied and very willingly paid? A magnificent mansion, with its splendid display of costly decorations, ministers to the elegant indulgence of a single family, but its erection and maintenance give employment to an hundred. A style of living that is very apt to excite something of envy at the fortunate condition of the individual who supports it, gives to numerous classes of active men their principal means of subsistence. Even the gratifications, which, so far as the moralist may be concerned, are most objectionable, are not without their advantages in this respect. A ball room, where the affluent and gay may assemble to pass, if not waste, as much time as would be equivalent to the life of one individual for a month, or of thirty individuals for a day, can hardly be prepared for the reception of its pleasure seeking inmates, without demanding from honest labor a much larger employment of time, which is liberally paid for; and when the indirect as well as the immediate demands which fashion makes for its display on these occasions, is taken into the account, it would be no extravagant estimate to place the employment of labor at the value of ten times the period employed in the indulgences of amusement. Strike from the list of accommodations, those which taste and luxury, and, if you

please, pride and vanity, require, and what would be left to occupy the thousands who now live comfortably and contentedly by supplying them? When it is considered how intimately the diffusion of wealth is connected with all the departments of mechanical skill and labor, even those which at first view are most distant from it, the attempt would surely seem unwise, to excite ill-will towards any who may have the power of contributing to it. Under our forms of government, this attempt is peculiarly injudicious. In other countries, wealth places its possessors in a good measure above the power of the people. Rich men dread the exactions of magistrates, but hold popular feelings in very little respect. Not so here. So soon as the use of property brings them into disfavor, its use will be changed or discontinued. There is here no strength in a shield of gold to blunt the arrows of popular indignation. The people will be obeyed; and it is therefore the more important that their commands should promote their own essential interests.

We repeat, therefore, that there is an indissoluble connexion and mutual dependence among the classes of our society, and that the happiness of all, and in fact their existence, under free institutions, is mainly concerned in preserving a mutual confidence, respect, and esteem; so that it is a most unpatriotic, as well as unchristian effort, to attempt to separate these classes into opposite, conflicting, and irreconcilable parties.

Where this connexion to which we have alluded, is so direct and important, there may be other circumstances in addition to the general considerations of propriety and duty, which may tend, in a greater or less degree, to unite or to sever the various individuals who compose our communities. These circumstances may be improved by care and attention, by suitable concessions of one set of men or another, and by the mutual cooperation of all. Some of these we proceed to consider, and to offer such suggestions as in our opinion may promote this important end.

Among the first of those institutions which tend to promote harmony among all the citizens of the commonwealth, are our public free schools. We do not so much allude, now, to the immense advantages of general education, which they, and they alone, are able to secure, as to the benefit of an early association of youth under our system, where there is a common object and equal means of attaining it, and no superiority is possessed by any one, that is not acquired by industry, talent, and

virtue. On the perfect level of this broad platform the children of rich and poor meet together, and forget the temporary inequalities of life, in exertions for the more durable elevations of mind. The strength of attachments formed at school, are rarely broken in the various vicissitudes of life ; and the respect and esteem, which are generated in the friendly contests for intellectual distinction, bring down all overweening regard for the artificial differences of society.

We could not but smile at the utter ignorance of a recent traveller in our country, who undertook to become very wise in regard to our institutions and manners, when he spoke with disdain of these public schools, as partaking somewhat of an eleemosynary character.

Our people understand that what is given by the government, is only in another form a donation of their own. They are the government. Their property founded these establishments, their labor and contributions maintain them. The poorest child who receives the rudiments of his education in our public schools, feels the same consequence and pride that he would do if the master was a private tutor, paid from the pocket of his parent. It is his own. He claims it as his birthright. It is his inheritance as a citizen of New England, and he knows no better or more honorable title by which the most affluent member of the community holds any portion of his wealth.

There seem to us to be two circumstances, which may tend to diminish the advantages of this beautiful system of republican policy, against which it is well to be on our guard. The first is an attempt to discountenance those schools in which the highest branches of learning are taught, preparatory to a college education. The idea that these are only for the rich, is a libel on the capacity and talent of the middling and working classes. They are truly for those who have talents and genius to profit by the instruction ; and such qualities are hereditary in no family, nor exclusively the characteristic of any classes of the community. It is, perhaps, the opposite extreme, to press the expenses of these public establishments to an extravagant and burdensome taxation. Whenever this shall be found to be the case, there will be danger of a revulsion in the public mind, hazardous to the system. The weight of public contributions are not borne by the rich, nor the poor. The last pay nothing ; the first, though in single cases the amount is large, are yet too few in number to bring a very considerable

proportion into the treasury. Most of the available funds of the public, are derived from the active, moving, busy men, who give life and energy to society; men who do not profess to have a fortune, and are nevertheless far above want; men who owe nothing beyond their means, and live well, but are yet subject to all the laws of economy and prudence. There is nothing which this useful and solid body of our citizens more cheerfully pay for, than the legitimate expenses of a sound, useful, practical education, for all the children of the district in which they live; but there is nothing which we think they would more dislike, or ought more decidedly to resist, than the expending of time and money for the mere ornament and parade of learning, which must be too superficial to be valuable, and too foreign from the daily pursuits of life, ever to be of general practical utility.

The means of all societies have limits, beyond which it is unreasonable and unwise, even for the success of a favorite object, to attempt to strain them; and the double, or perhaps opposite danger, arising from the necessity of schools for higher branches of learning, with reasonable regard to the amount of expense, requires some liberality of mind, and some concession of interest. The experiment of giving a complete and thorough education for all useful purposes, to every child of both sexes, at the public charge, is a bold, and certainly a novel, experiment. To a certain extent the public is interested. That intelligence which the public requires, it should provide the means of obtaining, and probably this is the limit of its duty; but whether its duty is to provide for professional and business education, may admit of much doubt.

The other circumstance to which we allude, is the ancient habit of assembling all classes for public worship under one teacher in the same temple of the Lord. Religion, like death, dissolves all earthly distinctions. In the eye of Heaven there is no wealth but virtue, and no poverty but sin. At the altar of devotion there is generated a solemn sensibility to the weakness of a common nature, a regard for the professors of the same faith, and a sentiment of kindness for all who in like spirit are objects of the same divine dispensation. To the early habits of New England in this respect, is owing very much of that harmony and good will, and that reciprocal affection and esteem, which distinguished, not indeed the poor and the rich, for those classes hardly existed, but the more and the less favored individuals of society, the happy and the unfortu-

nate, the distinguished and the obscure, and united different professions and occupations of life, bringing together men, who, meeting but seldom in the course of daily avocations, might become aliens to each other, but for this weekly consecration of their feelings on the same solemn occasion.

Another obvious mode of promoting the harmony and common good of society, is by diminishing the number of that class which has nothing in common with the multitude ;—we mean the class of paupers, whether they become so by misfortune or by crime. So long as a man has any stake in the general welfare, however small, he will readily understand that it is to be preserved on the same principles by which the larger interests of others are protected ; but when he has none at all, there is no dependence to be placed on him. It then requires stronger moral principle to resist the force of temptation, which urges him to violate or abrogate the laws. If at any time it should be found that the physical power of the state was in the hands of those who had no advantage from the existing laws, and no hope of obtaining any, the result would speedily be revolution and civil war ; or if, by the agency of such a class at the ballot boxes, the form of government might be changed, it is not easy to believe there would be any permanency in its establishment. We see in Europe, what we trust never to see here, the maintenance of civil power by military force, and the frightful disorders and distress which are incident to despotism. To avoid it there is a necessity of diminishing pauperism ; and to diminish it, there is need of a prevailing spirit of industry, frugality, and integrity. The cause and the prevention of it, are subjects of deep interest to the statesman as well as the philanthropist ; and the means of checking it, which Dr Tuckerman has suggested in the report before us, are important enough to be very seriously and deliberately considered.

‘ At the hazard even of falling under the imputation of arrogance, I am constrained to say, that the great error, as I think, of legislators and of political economists, has been, that they have looked upon man only, or almost exclusively, as a creature of time, and a subject of human government ; almost alone as he is seen in the class in which he stands of his fellow beings ; and forgetting, or lightly regarding, his moral nature, they have sought for the causes, and the remedy of evil in society, altogether in outward circumstances ; and everywhere, but where alone these causes and remedies are to be found, in the elements, and springs, and

capacities of that nature, which makes us what we are, *men*. It is not indeed surprising that the poor, and that criminals, under despotic governments, have been treated as beings of altogether a distinct nature from that of their rulers and oppressors. But it is wonderful, that, under a government in any measure elective, and free, and under the light of Protestant Christianity, a criminal code should have been retained till the 19th century, which was the disgrace of the 16th; and, that it could ever have been hoped to have restrained the growth of poverty, under institutions which as effectually excluded the great mass of the poor from the means of intellectual improvement, as they would have been excluded by a law which forbade their instruction. It is wonderful that, in a Protestant country, and in the 19th century, the very means employed for the punishment of criminals, should be the means best suited, of all others, to produce an indefinite extension, and aggravation of crime; and that there should have been annual assessments, to an immense amount, for the support of the poor, which from year to year have been most manifestly a bounty upon idleness, and a legislative provision for the progress of want, and misery, and sin. These are causes and effects, which should be well understood, and seriously pondered, in a young country; and especially in a country, whose law is the will of the people; whose institutions, of every character and name, rest on the will of the people; and whose only true greatness, and security, and happiness, is in the intelligence and virtue of the people. The truth is, that both political economists, and legislators, have too generally looked to *wealth* as the supreme good of a nation; and to the means of increasing wealth, as the means of national greatness and happiness. The working classes have therefore been regarded by them as is machinery, in relation alone to their productiveness of wealth. The question, therefore, respecting both the poor, and criminals, has been, how are they to be disposed of at the smallest expense? This very course of procedure, I believe, has quadrupled the expenses which would have been required, if legislators and political economists had acted upon the doctrine, that a nation is truly great, and powerful, only in the intelligence and the virtue of all the orders of its subjects. Let the wealth of a nation be a thousand times that of England, and let it be in the possession of the few, while the many are reared in ignorance, and are left to be goaded by want; and, when they fall into crime, are treated in any way but that in which men should be treated; and the day will come, when all this wealth will not be sufficient to appease the passions of a blind and infuriated mob. Mr Peel, in the same breath, speaks of "the prosperity of the country," and of what he calls "the

frightful difference," in that country, "between the increase of crime, and the increase of population." I will only say, may God save our country from such prosperity as this !' pp. 14—16.

Dr Tuckerman has modestly put this matter in a note ; but it is in our opinion a part of his report that is worthy of grave consideration. Pauperism originates in misfortune or crime ; and, as it proceeds from one or other of these sources, it is, we think, to be treated with different applications. An almost universal spirit of enterprise, laudable efforts for commercial prosperity, and that general activity among our countrymen, which must incur hazard, as the only means of success, sometimes prove in the end so disastrous to many, that the whole prospect of future life is overwhelmed by one dark cloud of debt and embarrassment. We have already entered our protest against laws, which, under such circumstances, subject a man to imprisonment ; but something beyond a melioration of their barbarous provisions is necessary, and we think a scheme for the full discharge of the honest debtor, through the process of a bankrupt law, is demanded by the universal interest of society, and cannot much longer be delayed with safety to our institutions.

But insolvency or pauperism from crime, is a matter of different complexion, even when it is not always the result of such actions as the laws of society can punish. There are men, unwilling to labor, who, because they are poor, preposterously enlist themselves under the banners of the working men. There are multitudes, who prefer the resorts of low dissipation and the indulgence of idle habits, to the exertion of those faculties of mind or body, by which subsistence could be honestly acquired, and over whom, if some strong public sentiment does not exercise a salutary severity, there should be enforced the moral guardianship of the laws. From this class, however, are sure to proceed the most noisy and constant clamors against all the requisitions of society, against all the restraints and impositions which public laws can place on the indulgence of their perverted minds. It is the evidence of a bad state of things, when their complaints are regarded. It is the mark of a decay of public principle, when they are countenanced and encouraged by the voice of men claiming to be good citizens. It is a worse symptom, when the magistracy is influenced by their obstreperousness, and laws are either not made or not enforced, which are calculated to restrain them. Public sentiment is

the only power that can keep the walls of the Constitution from their assault, and it ought to be watchful and severe. It should derive tone and vigor from the certainty, which all good citizens ought to feel, that its strength and purity are our only protection.

It is not improbable, that, under the most popular forms of government, laws or customs may grow up, which in their operation may, in time, have a more injurious effect on one class of society than another. Such is the imperfection of everything merely human, that these consequences may be expected. Such, it has been suggested, is actually the case in our free government, and we propose to pay some attention to those arrangements that have been enumerated as deserving of change; but it is a preliminary inquiry, What is the mode of redress, and who is to move it, when such cases exist? To this question we unhesitatingly answer, that, in our own opinion, it is not to be done by the array of one class against another, as if one portion of citizens had an interest to carry by force, what another class of citizens had as strong an interest to oppose. Unless this opinion is correct, it seems to us, that we are wholly in a mistake as to the practicability or advantage of a republican government. Such a government begins with the axiom, that the interests of all its citizens are sufficiently identical to be moulded and harmonized into one mass. Power may enforce imposition. Despotism may make its own pleasure to be law. But republicanism supposes a common consent, and of course a mutual concession and spirit of compromise. The government of the people may be as arbitrary as the mandate of a monarch; and not the more agreeable, because it proceeds from the dictation of many, instead of the command only of one. They who suffer may be fewer, but their suffering is not less.

The common good of all, *ex vi termini*, cannot be the exclusive and peculiar benefit of a part; but it is the common good of all which is to be pursued, and although it may be difficult, and perhaps impossible, so exactly to adjust the scales, as to weigh out to each his fair proportion, no party and no class of men can propose not to make such an object their effort and desire, without in effect declaring that they choose their own arbitrary government, instead of the liberal policy of a true republic. Associations to accomplish some favorite project, may not be objectionable, when their design is to reconcile such project with the common good; but the dan-

ger of such associations, is the tendency they have to exalt their own schemes into an artificial consequence, to stimulate the spirit of party to advance them, and to break down those essential guards which protect the rights of others, either through a carelessness which disregards them, or a recklessness that tramples on them without regret. It would be a very extraordinary and alarming thing, if the affluent classes of society openly associated to carry strong measures of their own; if, for instance, all the landholders, who, although not affluent, would be pretty powerful, should combine to relieve their property from taxation, or enhance their rents; or if, at the other extreme, the idle, the worthless, the criminal and the dependent, forgetting any little shades of difference among themselves, should form one solid mass to move against the laws. It may not be as strange, but it is quite as preposterous, to suppose, that any section of the working class, which entire class, in truth, includes everybody, could form a phalanx with objects so hostile to any portion of the community, that each portion would be bound to oppose them. Any such congregation must necessarily be subject to one or other of the following remarks. Either the objects they have in view are for the good of the whole people, and therefore all the people, properly understanding them, would be bound to give them their aid; or, they are essentially prejudicial to a part of the people, and therefore all, inasmuch as all are the common guardians of every part, are equally bound to oppose them. In truth, there is no need of association. Let the cause of grievance be fairly and fully examined, it follows of certainty, that, if it is well founded, there is a common interest in having it redressed.

On the subject of education, which is one of the points put forward for examination, there may be differences about the mode, but none as to the end; and in regard to imprisonment for debt, which is another, we have already expressed an opinion, which we hope at no distant day to find universal.

A less expensive law system is said to be a further desideratum, and we cordially concur in the sentiment. We do not indeed limit our wishes to a mere diminution of expense, but extend them to a thorough revision of the entire civil and criminal code. This code, if indeed its heterogeneous mass be entitled to the name, has its origin in a period of remote an-

tiquity, among a people little better than barbarians, with no knowledge of commerce or the arts of polished society, in an age of poverty, ignorance, brutality, rapine, cruelty, and blood. Its materials, sometimes flexible and plastic, and sometimes unbending, have been strained to every condition of society, government, and religion, in peace or war, through all the gradual changes, which time and intelligence have elaborated, so that the principles, which were adapted to the times of the Catholics and the supremacy of the pope, were made to suit equally well the vacillating creed of Henry or the infidelity of Charles, and to flourish under Laud or Cranmer, the Pilgrims of New England or the Quakers of Pennsylvania.

Such a monstrous fabric of error and folly in unintelligible Latin and barbarous French, would not have existed as a monument of laws for civilized people, if it had not contained some inherent capacity of change, so that what was law to-day, should, in the fluctuations of society, cease to be law to-morrow; and that principles either too barbarous or too ridiculous to be sustained under the light of reason and religion, should disappear, as ghosts are supposed to do at the dawn of day. To accomplish this necessary change, two powers have concurred, in the country in which this system has its origin, and have been copied in our own; the one is legislative enactment, and the other judicial construction. The acts of the parliament of Great Britain, have from time to time remodelled the provisions of law, and our legislatures have done the same, without changing or attempting to change its principles; so that it resembles some of those ancient castles, which modern architecture has repaired and enlarged, or in part removed, without regarding either their symmetry or style, or anything beyond the temporary purposes for which the alteration was designed. The wisest lawyers have therefore been obliged to confess that they were unable to find their way through the labyrinths of the building, in which it is no wonder that an inexperienced stranger should be lost.

By judicial construction, or the opinion of successive judges for some hundred years, the doctrines of the law have been changed and rechanged, as the supposed purposes of substantial justice from time to time required; so that what was intended to be a system, became, in important respects, the mere individual judgment of a chancellor, a chief justice, or a majority of the bench. When this unwieldy and ill-adapted mass of materials

was imported and erected in our country into a temple of the law, it was of necessity to be changed from the fabric suited to a monarchical, into one designed for a republican government. Directions were given to that effect, but the terms of these directions were so general, that an almost unlimited power was conferred on the judicial department, to receive and reject as they pleased. Of the singular pliability of this law, a memorable instance may be seen in a case decided by one of the most profound jurists of our country in the Circuit Court of the United States.* In the case of the United States *vs. La Jeune Eugenie*, it was maintained by the counsel for the government, that the slave trade was contrary to the law of nations as at present understood and received, and that it was contrary to the law of nations, because it was a violation of the law of nature, which constituted a component part of the law of nations. The learned judge, with as much moral power as legal learning, decided, 'that the slave trade is prohibited by universal law.' 'In respect to the African slave trade,' he forcibly remarks, 'such as it has been described to be, and in fact is, in its origin, progress and consummation, it cannot admit of a serious question that it is founded in a violation of some of the first principles which ought to govern nations. It is repugnant to the great principles of christian duty, the dictates of natural religion, the obligations of good faith and morality, and the eternal maxims of social justice. When any trade can be truly said to have these ingredients, it is impossible that it can be consistent *with any system of law*, that purports to rest on the authority of reason or revelation; and it is sufficient to stamp any trade as interdicted by public law, when it can be justly affirmed that it is repugnant to the general principles of justice and humanity.'

Any system of Law! How long and arduously did the great men of England struggle to abolish it? How long ineffectually did they contend to prevent its being favored, protected, encouraged by the common law of the land? Under the security of that law, four companies were chartered to deal in slaves,

*The proceedings in this case were on the admiralty side of the court, which does not necessarily proceed on the common law. This circumstance does not injure the effects of our illustration. Either in the same country there are two laws, one in opposition to the other—one of them being against the principles of the law of nature and nations, or they agree together, and therefore either of them sustains the opinion of the court.

one with the name of the Royal African Company, to which the king, one of the princes of the blood royal, and many persons of high rank, were subscribers; and so lately as 1750, an act was passed by the English parliament, for extending and improving the trade to Africa. The decision in the American court was a wise one. We should have blushed for the character of our country, if it had been obligatory on the court, to pronounce any other decree. But the law changes, because it ought to change, after having encouraged for centuries all the atrocity and crime which have desolated Africa and disgraced mankind. The same eternal justice, which made this a righteous decision when it was pronounced, existed in all its force when the law of England sanctioned the slave trade; and a judge, who had had the boldness, and the integrity, and the capaciousness of mind, to have uttered the sentiments of this eminent magistrate, might formerly have been brought to the block.

The monstrous absurdities which the common law has sanctioned, are not confined to great and impressive matters, like that which commands the attention of mankind; it descends to the humblest and smallest of the daily transactions of life, in which there is an amount of error and extravagance to be eradicated, as oppressive, in its way, as that which related to the slave trade; and we are sometimes as much surprised at its unyielding and immovable dogmas, as at others we are astonished by its changes.

We are desirous of fortifying our position by adverting to a case discussed in the Court of King's Bench in 1818, the doctrine and practice of which, as far as we know, form at the present moment a part of English common law.

Shortly before that period, Mary Ashford, a young woman of interesting and exemplary character, was found murdered, with evident marks of previous violence on her person. Strong suspicion existed against one Abraham Thornton, who was indicted as well for the murder, as for the other supposed capital felony, and on each charge was acquitted. In Easter term 1818, he was prosecuted, by appeal, for the same offences, at the suit of William Ashford, the eldest brother of the deceased unfortunate female, a slight and feeble young man, on whom the law devolved that extraordinary right. Thornton being put to answer the appeal, pleaded as follows: 'Not guilty; and I am ready to defend the same by my body; and thereupon taking his glove off, he threw it upon the floor of the

court.' Ashford replied that Thornton ought not to be admitted 'to wage his battle,' or in other words, to try the truth of the charges of murder and ravishment, by a personal contest with the brother of the deceased, because he said that there were violent and strong presumptions of Thornton's guilt, which, in a form of recital called a counterplea, he, Ashford, set forth at full length; and in such case, he contended, the wager of law or duel, was not allowed by the law of the land. After the proper answers were made by the defendant, the court gravely listened to learned and elaborate arguments, not to ascertain whether the law of the country permitted such savage mode of settling a cause, for that was admitted, but whether the case before them was, or was not, by its peculiar circumstances, a case to be excepted from the general rule. Lord Ellenborough said, 'The cases which have been cited in this argument and the others to which we ourselves have referred, show very distinctly, that the general mode of trial by law, in case of appeal, is by battle, at the election of the appellee [the accused party], unless the case be brought within certain exceptions, as for instance, where the appellant is an infant, or a woman, or where the appellee is taken with the mainour [in the fact], or has broken prison. Now in addition to all these, there is the case where great and violent presumptions of guilt exist against the appellee, which admit of no denial or proof to the contrary. Without going at length into the discussion of the circumstances disclosed in the counterplea and replication here, it is quite sufficient to say, that this case is not, like those in Bracton, one which admits of no denial or proof to the contrary. The consequence therefore must be, *that the usual and constitutional mode of trial* must take place, unless, indeed, in respect of the plaintiff's having by his counterplea declined the wager of battle, the judgment of the court must now be, that the defendant should go without day.'

No part of these strange proceedings would be tolerated here; but the system to which they belong is our system, overlaid and lumbered with antiquated forms and innumerable precedents, that serve in a majority of instances to conceal the truth, or prevent the power of it from being exerted to any useful purpose, and reduce the trial of a matter of right to a question of superior adroitness among opposing counsel.

This system, then, should be reformed altogether, not by

occasional and temporary palliatives, but by a profound, extensive, and radical change. Something has been done in this country, from time to time, to soften its harsh features, and humanize its form; and if, on a comparison between the common law as it has until recently existed in England and the United States, the advance of improvement had not been eminently in our favor, it would not now be tolerated for a single day. But it is a just demand, by those on whom the weight and the expense of this cumbrous and dilapidated system hangs, that a complete and thorough investigation and repair should be immediately made. A late *Edinburgh Review*,* in discussing the condition of the common law, ventures to give the following description.

‘England, then, be it remembered, is a country, in which the first lawyers aver that no man but an idiot, or one who cares nothing for his own interest, would ever think of suing another for so small a sum as twenty, or even thirty pounds, in one kind of Court, and for so little as a hundred in another; and where, if he were called on to pay such a sum a second time, by a creditor, whose stamp receipt he had in his pocket, having paid it to the same creditor an hour before, he would at once pay the money rather than gain a suit commenced against him by defending it.—England is a country, where, if a man be knocked down with injury and insult, he has but one substantial means of redress, putting his antagonist to death, for which he will be punished, though not capitally.—England is a country, where, if a man’s character, or that of his wife, or his child, be slandered daily for a year, he cannot, without risking the bread he and they have to eat, have any remedy but assassinating the supposed defamer.—England is a country, where no secure conveyance can be made, at any expense, of almost any real property, and no conveyance at all of property under forty or fifty pounds.—England is a country, where, if there be left a legacy of a hundred pounds, the plain and obvious course for a prudent man to take, is to say nothing about the matter, and let the executor keep it instead of himself, unless he will voluntarily pay it over, which he is substantially under no kind of obligation to do.—England, moreover, is a country, which, by the common consent of almost all its own inhabitants, has no equal on the globe, for the excellence of her institutions; and of these the first and most excellent is her system of jurisprudence, which all who understand it extol to the heavens, as the most divine

* No. CII. p. 482.

production of perfect wisdom—which all, who know it by experience of its blessings, curse as the worst mischief that ever proceeded from the infernal regions.’—p. 482.

We do not adopt this language. It is too extravagant and exaggerated even for the meridian of London, and is too deeply colored to suit any part of the United States. But we have no doubt the tendency, the constant and resistless tendency of the common law, is to produce this state of things and even worse than this; and the only reason why it has not, or will not, is, that the common law is every year modified by statutes that do something to correct its evils and promote the public advantage. But the difficulty is, that all the changes thus made are mere modifications, often temporary,—generally arising from the immoderate pressure of a particular state of things, and not formed on those large and comprehensive principles, by which statesmen and jurists should be governed in regard to the great interests of a nation. Of this kind of legislation we have had enough and too much in the United States; and in consequence, the wonder is, not that we have not got along better, but that we have prospered so well. In this respect some States are in advance of others. The examples of New York and Louisiana are particularly worthy of imitation, and it is very probable that a more thorough revision than was had by the former State, would multiply the benefits and reduce the inconveniences which are found in her revised laws.

The English statesmen are aware of the need there is, on their part, of extensive alterations, and are proceeding with ability and success in radical changes, which this country should lose no time to imitate. The criminal law was put in commission at least as early as 1824. Important reports have been made by the learned gentlemen employed on it, and these, during the present year, have been reprinted by order of the House of Lords. Sir Robert Peel’s bills, in the mean while, have been passed, embracing several branches of the criminal law, and among others providing for cases of principal and accessory in capital felonies, for the want of which provisions in our code, so much embarrassment attended the recent prosecutions at Salem. We should follow the inquiries which the important amendments introduced by Sir Robert, and the interesting propositions already submitted by the commissioners, would suggest; did we not know with how little pleasure the details of these

concerns are listened to by general readers, who think, and perhaps truly, that they are the appropriate business of professional men. On such men we call with earnestness and solemnity. If our people adopt the fashions and fancies that are transmitted by the most rapid conveyances, and seize on the periodical and lighter literature of the English press, before it has circulated in its own metropolis, it surely does not become them to be indifferent to improvements in the science of domestic jurisprudence, involving not merely life and property, although these *are* in fact involved to immense amount, but the temporal and eternal happiness of the thousands, who, although the elegant and the fastidious never see them, have families to support, children to instruct, and souls to be saved.

On the civil side of the law a more tardy and less efficient reformation is perceptible, partly because inconveniences affecting property, receive, as they are discovered, some remedy at the time, and partly, we feel bound to suppose, because of the strength and influence of those whom the abuses of the system maintain in opulence and dignity. The political condition of Great Britain has also retarded the progress of legislation. The whole energy of the country was for a long period directed to the prosecution of the mighty wars in which it was engaged, and it is only after the repose of peace, and in time of general tranquillity, that her great men can devote their minds to the Herculean task of reforming the system of her common law. But the subject has claimed some share of regard. On the seventh of February, 1828, Mr Brougham directed the attention of the House of Commons to the state of the common law courts, and of the common law itself. The speech, which he delivered on that occasion, occupied six hours, and made a most powerful impression on the house. It was unfortunate, we think, that it mingled certain feelings of hostility towards ministers with sound principles of honest duty to the country, and it diminished our expectations of its efficacy to find caustic expressions and severe censures, which would necessarily excite an animosity that it was unwise to provoke.

The consequence is, that although two commissions were established, one to inquire into the state of the common law at large, and the other to take into consideration the state of the law of real property, little has yet been accomplished under those commissions, excepting the collecting and diffusing the information which must of course precede any intelligent action.

Whether the eminent lawyer, who moved the inquiry, became dissatisfied with the slow progress of the commissioners, we are not informed ; but we find in the last session of parliament that he again took the matter into his own hands, and presented, with distinctness, the outlines of his plan of reform, limited however both in its principles and in the district of country to be subjected to them, with the view, no doubt, of avoiding the charge of impracticability, which had formerly been urged upon him, but intending to extend them, if, on experiment, they were found useful. The remedy proposed by Mr Brougham for the existing evils of the common law, is thus described by a commentator. ‘He has gone at once to the main body of the evil—the delay, the expense and vexation of justice, as at present administered ; and he has, boldly, it must be confessed, propounded his remedy by a very sweeping change in the present system. But it appears manifest that the change is of no rash and unheeding kind ; for it is bottomed upon the safest principles ; it leaves all the rest of the law untouched ; it connects itself with the system without moving it, and it has even a warrant of authority, not only in the minor analogies of that system, but in its original, we may say, its primeval arrangements. The *gist* of the plan is shortly stated. It is to bring justice home to every man’s door, at all times of the year, by the establishment of local courts, and at the same time to secure soundness of decision, and preserve perfect uniformity of law, by giving the superintendence over the local judicatures to the central and general courts at Westminster.’—In casting our eyes over the one hundred and seven sections of this bill, we cannot but think Mr Brougham has examined and approved some *Americanisms*,* which are perhaps more allowable in jurisconsults than philologists ; but, although he has given no credit to us for anything which seems to have been borrowed, we are willing to allow

* We are glad to hear that a recent order has been received in this country from England for about one hundred volumes of American Reports. Notwithstanding the eagerness with which the decisions of the courts in Westminster Hall are cited here, it is rare indeed that our own decisions are even referred to in the King’s Bench. A little more attention to them would satisfy the English judges, that they might learn something in exchange for the light they lend us on the intricate paths of the law ; and the commissioners, whether on the civil or criminal department, for whose use we suppose the foregoing order was transmitted, will probably find there are some improvements in our administration of justice, which, if their pride will stoop to borrow them, may promote the interest of their country.

him great praise for other manifest improvements, which, as far as we are informed, are entirely original. It is impracticable, within the limits to which we must confine ourselves, to give any analysis of those improvements; nor does our plan require it. We advert to this splendid effort of a most eminent man, to show, that essential alterations of the common law are desirable and practicable; and that a zealous and intelligent application to it, would be likely to overcome the prejudices by which the system is in a great measure defended. We cannot however forbear to express our conviction, that the most novel part of the new plan, which establishes courts of general jurisdiction by consent, and courts of arbitration and reconciliation, intended to shorten litigation, to accommodate differences, and to *prevent suits at law*, are especially worthy of American legislators. It is not to be supposed that the projected system, carefully as it has been prepared, is yet so perfect as it may be made, or that by our remarks we mean to express entire satisfaction with every part of it. Thus far it seems to be the production of a single mind, a generous and noble benefaction of individual talent for public good. Other minds will add their contributions, and new light will be thrown on the path of improvement. But enough is done to show the futility of the ready objection, that the common law, as a system, cannot be essentially changed, in a country where it has been once established.

We have left ourselves no room to discuss the other great subjects, which have been put forward by those who assume to be exclusively the working class, as deserving of change; to wit, the militia, taxation, monopolies, and the abrogation of all laws in regard to religion;—important and interesting topics, deserving each of them a consideration by itself, and on which we may possibly at some future time offer our reflections to our readers. At present, however, we can do no more than to give our own answer to the inquiry we have already made,—if all these matters require new modification, who is to make it? And we say, they must make it who understand the existing systems, and know how and where the remedy is to be applied. Who doubts the necessity of learning and talent and experience for this extensive work? Who would entrust so momentous a concern to any but the most enlightened, the most careful, the most prudent, and the most comprehensive minds? They who suffer an evil are not always the most competent to

remove it. Any man may tell when his watch is out of order ; but the artist who has studied its machinery, is alone able to repair it. We may soon enough ascertain that our health is impaired, and know very well that the body requires medicine ; but he proceeds very thoughtlessly who ventures in extreme cases to administer to himself. The constitution of the state, the health of the body politic, the movement of juridical machinery, are not easier known, or managed with less nicety of touch. They can be adjusted only by hands of competent skill. We ask not to what profession or trade the mover of reformation belongs ; but it is our duty to inquire whether his talents are adequate to the task, whether his education has given him the requisite information, and whether study and observation have enabled him to acquire the necessary skill. It will be said, perhaps, that honesty is as necessary as intellect, and that the most capable are the most adversely interested, and cannot be depended upon. So it was said of Mr Brougham, a scholar whose splendid talents are equalled only by the extent and range of his vast and various information, and whose information and talents combined are not more than equivalent to his political integrity ;—a lawyer at the head of his profession, so constantly and lucratively and laboriously employed, that he could devote but one day to a canvass for a seat in parliament, on which day, if the newspapers are to be believed, he travelled one hundred miles, and made eight public speeches to different assemblies of his electors ; a man who owes everything to his success in the profession to which he belongs, yet ready to take the lead in the grandest plans of improvement in education, in jurisprudence, in civil liberty, at whatever loss of personal emolument. But there is no loss to him, or men like him. Real intellectual greatness needs no aid from the abuses of antiquated systems. It derives none of its strength or vigor from the misfortunes and misery of its fellow beings. It stands erect in its own might, by its own energy, and by the favor of that Providence which has given it inspiration. Suspicion, and envy, and jealous mistrust are the vices of other minds, and they obstruct their own purposes. They prevent exertions, which men who have the power would most willingly make for the general good. They discourage effort by the imputation of bad motives. A better feeling must prevail, before any great improvement will be attempted ; a more generous confidence must exist, before it can under any auspices be

successful. Let such a temper prevail. Cultivate talents which are capable of great exertions. Cheer and encourage their exercise. Propose for their reward the gratitude that their merit is entitled to expect, and they will be found here, in these quiet departments of practical, unobtrusive utility, quite as abundant and as powerful, as when a nation's independence was to be declared in the hall of legislation, or her freedom to be maintained at the head of her armies.

Our remarks, it will be seen, proceed on the supposition that society is to be maintained on its present basis. The revolution, which atheism or infidelity would introduce, requires different considerations and another style of argument—if indeed argument could properly be addressed to the fool who says in his heart there is no God. They who believe, or affect to believe, in the fortuitous creation of material and intelligent existence, who scoff at the idea of human accountability, who consider all law as injustice, all exclusive property as usurpation on common rights, and all family and domestic associations as absurd and unnatural, are to be dealt with, if at all, with different considerations. Such extravagance carries its own refutation in the innate character of man, and is put down by the power of all those affections and sympathies and kind feelings, which education develops in various degrees, but universally and invariably. The human mind, like a field, will, even under the best cultivation, produce tares as well as wheat. Such opinions are the rank growth of a soil, which is to be weeded, as well as tilled. They are stubble quickly consumed, while the fruit that is ripened by intelligence and truth, is gathered and preserved for the nourishment of the soul.

ART. II.—*The History of the Jews, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* By Rev. H. H. MILMAN. New York. J. & J. Harper. 1830. 3 vols. 18mo. pp. 264, 298, 353.

THERE is nothing more humbling than the history of prejudices, when they have ceased to awaken any feeling; and among all human prejudices, none have been more unreasonable and lasting than such as bear the name of religion. In ordi-

nary life it is sad enough to see them separate men and keep them asunder, thus resisting the social feeling which is one of the most important elements of our nature. We feel that there must be a want of generosity in the breast that harbors and defends them, and that nothing can be done for moral or intellectual improvement till they are done away. But such prejudices grow alarming when they come armed with the authority of numbers. Then truth lies browbeaten and still, leaving its wrongs to be redressed by the reformer, Time. The prejudice passes from breast to breast, and from generation to generation. Though in the hearts of a few it was an obstinate and passive affection, in the hearts of many it grows savage, bloodthirsty, and revengeful. It soon forgets its first humble pretensions, and will not be satisfied till it bends the world to its power. Then prison doors begin to grate upon their hinges, and scaffolds to run with blood; no excellence can atone for some trifling mistake in opinion; man appears like an evil spirit exulting in the ruin he has made. Many a page of history is red as scarlet with its registry of religious prejudices, leading on to the worst of crimes. But we do wrong to call these religious prejudices. There is no religion in the matter. Men form opinions of religious subjects, as well as all others. These opinions are no more sacred than any other; they are often formed with even less deliberation. They are called religious, not because they are inspired by religion, but because they supply the place of religious principles and feeling. Men are constantly saying to themselves, Anything but obedience—anything but duty. We will believe the most positive contradictions; we will be converted, once for all, if that will answer; we will do anything and submit to anything, sooner than this weary, heart-breaking and hopeless labor of constantly regarding the divine will. And when they see this channel of prejudice open, one in which their passions may flow without censure, they seize the opportunity, and indulge them to the heart's desire, under the name of religion. Thanks to the growing light of the world, men are now beginning to discover, that, while conviction may make them firm in their own opinions, it is only selfishness that makes them interfere with those of others. Not only is this persuasion breaking down the barricades of different christian factions,—it reaches even to Jews, and beyond them to infidels, by teaching us, that, if we complain of the opinions of others, we are bound to examine our own. This process, if conducted with tolerable fairness,

never fails to show, that, if it is certain that others are in the wrong, it is equally certain that we are not the persons who can safely cast the stone.

We propose to examine the relations of Jews to Christians; and we must say, in the outset, that Christians do not appear to advantage in their dealings with that unfortunate people. They have visited them with all manner of persecution in past ages. Their very attempts to convert them to Christianity have been insulting. They have sent those whom the Jews regarded as apostates and deserters, to conciliate and convince them. For many ages, the name Jew, has been pronounced with a contempt which is harder to endure than oppression, because it humbles and depresses, while oppression kindles and inspires. It is no doubt true, that their condition is improving with the general improvement of the world. There is no longer any direct or visible oppression. The common sense of all the nations would cry out against it. But the reproach still remains. Even where there are no disabilities connected with their religious faith, they are painfully distinguished from other men; and this, too, at a time when the Catholics are exulting over their broken chain, when every injured sect and every oppressed people are rising to be free, and hear the shout of their victory answered from a thousand different lands, over the mountains and beyond the deep. Now it seems to us, that the Jews are entitled to this friendly cheering. Never was there a people who held with more unshaken firmness to the religion of their fathers; and if any man asserts what he believes to be the truth through the sufferings which freedom of opinion is too apt to bring, if he is willing to endure something for the sake of conscience, let his opinions be what they may, he is respectable in the sight of God and man.

Perhaps we in this country cannot easily understand how much the Jews have been called upon to endure in other lands and other times. For in this land, to its praise be it spoken, the Jew is under no such law. On the contrary, those of that race who deserve respect, and the proportion is as great as in any other, are regarded with much interest as living memorials of a distinguished people. Neither is their religion put upon a level with the heathen. It is considered as the faith which Jesus Christ reformed into Christianity, or, as an apostle beautifully expresses it, as a lamp shining in a dark place, till the day should break and the morning star appear. But we

cannot reason from our country to others ; because here old associations are broken up, and every one knows that it is old tradition, rather than fear or conscience, which makes the old world so unwilling to give up its narrow practices, so tenacious in preserving the dungeons of the decaying house of bondage. We know, from competent witnesses, that Europe has not yet humbled herself in dust and ashes, as she ought, for her treatment of the Jews. What literary reader does not remember Cumberland's attempt, in one of his plays, to redeem the Jewish character ;—an attempt in which the necessary proportion of cause to effect was so ludicrously disregarded ? So manful did this effort to resist a nation's prejudice seem to the writer, that he valued himself much on the moral energy it discovered, and could not hide his vexation that the Jews made no acknowledgement to him for maintaining the strange proposition, that a Jew could be an honest man. This, however, was long ago ; and it might have been thought that prejudices so absurd would die away. But within a few years, Miss Edgeworth has taken the field on their side again, in a manner which shows that, though she had no prejudice in her own breast, she felt that she was striving against a strong tide of public opinion. Her attempt to rescue the Hebrew name from reproach, was honorable to herself ; but the fact that she thought it necessary, shows clearly enough what is the prevailing feeling in her country with respect to the Jews.

But some will say,—There are the Rothschilds ! Are they not like the merchants of Tyre who were princes ? Do not kings do homage to the golden sceptre which they bear ? Have not the great armies of coalitions waited their permission to march ? Have not the envoys of nations stood begging loans at their counting-room doors ? All this is true ; but it only proves that wealth, the god of this world, can raise up and ennoble even the Jew. Men care not how mean is the coffer which contains the gold. But was it not even so a thousand years ago ? When religious zeal opened the way for chivalrous adventure, the feudal nobles had nothing but strong castles and barren fields,—the wealth was in the hands of the Jews, who had found consolation under their humiliations, by collecting in silence those treasures which they knew would change their weakness into power, and make the tyrant of to-day a suppliant at their gate to-morrow. So far as wealth could take away their reproach, it did so in those ancient times. But riches can give little more than

the appearance of honor. The painful reality of the oppression and lowliness remains. And so they found it. They could not lift up their heads before their debtors, who despised them while they depended upon them ; and when all the resources of prodigality were exhausted, the borrower became a robber. The sword cut through all the bands of moral obligation ; and the Jew was thought too happy if he could escape with his life from the vengeance of those who had called him their benefactor. No reader of history can have any doubt, that the thrift and industry of the Jews were the causes of their persecution. It is true, there never was any friendship between Jews and Christians. They had too many hostile recollections to live at peace together. But the right of hunting them like wild beasts, was not assumed till their wealth became so great as to render them desirable victims. From that time, their history has been truly represented in the fable of the Wandering Jew, who is not wholly an imagination, but a picture of the uniform destiny of all the race, presented in the history of one. For ages the Jew has wandered, seeking rest and finding none ; rather pitching a tent than building a mansion ; driven out from every resort and shelter ; exposed to wrongs that cannot be redressed, and insults that cannot be resented, and all the while turning his eyes towards the east for encouragement and consolation, because there the star of Jacob rose, and there he trusts to see it rising again, when the night of ages is past.

It may be curious to reflect on the manner in which the Christians have excused their treatment of the Jews ;—a treatment so entirely at variance with all the maxims of the religion of peace and good will. They rely upon the fact that our Saviour was crucified by the Hebrew nation, and that, in punishment of that sin, a curse is to rest forever upon that devoted people. But the obvious reply to this, is, that this was the crime, not of those who were persecuted, but their fathers ; and there is no inheritance of guilt. And even in their fathers, great as was the crime, it was not a cold and deliberate murder. It was hardly the act of the people ; for they were under the guidance of the Pharisees, who had wound round them a chain which they neither felt nor saw, but which followed them through their public walks and into their private retreats, binding them to the will of their ambitious masters,—men, who, though recommended neither by talent, learning, nor moral virtue, had acquired unbounded influence by sitting in Moses' seat, and using his law for purposes of

their own. When our Saviour appeared, they saw that if he prevailed with the people, their influence was gone forever ; and they set all the machinery of darkness in motion, misrepresenting his words, torturing his actions till they made virtue seem vice, and glory shame. Whenever an honest burst of popular feeling decided in favor of Jesus, they were at hand to quench it before it could spread. In this way they kept the people in a blind and melancholy bondage, and at last wrought them up to that moment's madness in which they thirsted for our Saviour's blood. But awful as was the hour, and the power in which that deed was done, we cannot resist the conclusion that this people knew not what they did, and that the guilt rested on those who had basely misled them. We have no doubt, that when, on the day of his death, the city poured forth floods from all its gates, there were many who mourned for him beside the daughters of Jerusalem ; that eyes unused to weep were dim with tears, as they saw the gentle firmness with which he bowed his head to die. We believe it, because human nature was the same then as it now is, and equally ready, when the moment's passion was over, to love what was excellent, and reverence what was great.

But allowing that the Jews were ever so guilty,—and in the most favorable view it was a rash and murderous deed,—and allowing that they are doomed to bear the consequences of this transgression for ages, still, this punishment would be the act of God, proceeding from his own agency without the interference of any mortal hand. Men cannot say that God needs their aid in his dispensations ; and till he asks their aid, it is no better than a crime for them to usurp the authority of Him, who said, Vengeance is mine. Nor, in truth, is this disposition to fight on the Lord's side often of a kind that does much honor to the cause. It is too apt to be nothing more than a wish to indulge bad passions under sacred sanctions ; to indulge them in such a way that the usual self-upbraiding may not follow them. The truth they undertake to defend, is the last thing they care for ; and, like hireling soldiers, who never ask the merits of the war, they are ready to fight and destroy on the side on which they happen to be enlisted. That the Jews in our Saviour's time were guilty, there is no doubt. But when he said, that all the crimes of their past history should come upon that generation, he did not mean that they should be punished for the deeds of their fathers, but that their own crimes, and their own sorrows,

should outnumber those of ages past. When it was foretold that the iniquities of the fathers should be visited upon the children, it was an appeal to the nation to consider what bearing their conduct would have on those who came after them. Righteousness exalts a nation, and throws a light of glory and happiness onward for ages to come. In the same manner, the results of national corruption, like blood shed in a stream, pass downward, staining the history, and arresting the national improvement for many future years. The transmission of sin and suffering, was like that which may be seen in families, where the son bears, in a measure, the consequences of his father's vices, not by any direct infliction, but by the common order of nature, which gives man power to influence the happiness of those who stand round, and those who come after him, and makes his responsibility deep and wide in precisely the same proportion.

Do those who look upon the Jews as now suffering under judicial infliction, remember, that this life is not the state of retribution; and that these judgments, as they are called, would be too unequally distributed to answer the purposes of justice? Whether we call them judgments or not, depends on our opinion of those on whom they fall. If it is one of our friends who suffers, we call it a merciful chastening, where, if an enemy endure the same, we say that it is the judgment of God. This is no new impression. Jesus Christ attempted to correct it in the men of his own day, but was so far from succeeding, that it is not even now reformed. He assured his hearers that the persons on whom the tower of Siloam fell, and the idolaters whom Pilate slew, were not so visited for uncommon guilt; intending both to correct the philosophical error, and to prevent their interpreting the acts of God as if he was a party to their love or hatred, their passions or opinions.

Leaving this ground, it may be said that the Jews are, and always have been, a bad people. Certainly their history abounds in examples of general hardness and corruption; but there is no proof that they were worse than the rest of the nations. We must not suppose, because the Canaanites had no historian, that they were a gentle and inoffensive race. Doubtless, in their war with the Jews, the accounts of injury were fairly balanced between them. Nor must we suppose, because the nations round Palestine had no prophets to warn them, that they were pure compared with Israel. The Israelites

were like others—corrupted by prosperity ; and, when alarmed by suffering, retaining the fear, only till the shadow passed away. In point of knowledge, they were more favored than others ; but, as respects justice, kindness, and humanity, they were on a level with other nations. At least, we cannot tell why they should have been worse. If their religion did not make them better, no one can say that it injured them. When the prophets condemn the prevailing vices, we are not to suppose that there was no place free from the infection. In Rome, in the days of Juvenal, there were upright men in the multitude of bad ones ; there were domestic retreats, which the deluge of corruption had not overflowed. And we cannot doubt, that, while the tendency of all things in the Hebrew state was as the prophets described it, there were many who endeavoured to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God in daily life, though the piety of the greater part was like the sabbath lamp, which in every Hebrew dwelling was lighted the evening before the sabbath, and burned only till the next day's close.

It is said, by way of increasing the guilt of the Jews, that they were uncommonly favored by Heaven. But is it from the most favored nations, or individuals, that we expect the most grateful returns ? It is true that those who are more blessed than others, are bound to make larger returns, and every weight added to prosperity is so much added to the amount of obligation. But if this truth is not felt in any other quarter, if we are ourselves insensible to it, why should we expect to find this delicate and thoughtful gratitude in the Jews ? We should do well to remember, that, however highly they were exalted in their day, it was said of John the Baptist, the last of the Jews, that a greater man never had appeared, and yet the least Christian was superior in knowledge to him. Our Saviour disclosed truths which the world did not know, and the light which he gave the world has been growing brighter and brighter to the present hour. The descendants of those Jews may turn upon us, when we boast the superiority of our light, and ask whether that superiority can be read as plainly in our morality as in our vainglorious boastings. The truth must be told, and they are an example of it, that those who are familiar with divine blessings, soon learn to claim them as rights, rather than welcome them as blessings. They feel as if they came in a regular order of nature, rather than by the unwearied kindness of God ; and thus prosperity tends directly to harden the heart.

Cities and nations are no exception to this rule. The most favored have been the most unfaithful. All that have left traces in history, or heaps on the ground where they stood,—you can almost tell the extent of the corruption from the splendor of their annals, or breadth and grandeur of their ruins.

We know nothing else that can be offered to excuse the persecution of the Jews, except that their dispersion was a thing foretold. Suppose that it was foretold. Inspiration has nowhere named its duration. We should suppose that the suffering of more than a thousand years, in which they have been constantly wandering over land and sea, without being permitted to enjoy for a moment the quiet and security which make up the charm of home, would be enough to redeem any pledge which prophetic inspiration has ever given. Enough of suffering there certainly has been, to show that their great statesman spoke with authority when he predicted the sorrows that should pursue them after every violation of his law. We can conceive of no further use for holding them up as a spectacle to angels and to men, and we do not believe that they have ever been thus separated, except by their own choice and peculiar character. Prophetic inspiration, divinely given though it be, must resemble that sagacity which enables the wise, from their discernment of circumstances and character, to tell what the destiny of individuals or nations will be. We do not say that prophetic inspiration is only a higher degree of sagacity, but it must operate in the same way; and if the same power that foretells, arranges circumstances to fulfil the prophecy, the prediction loses its wonder, as human sagacity is lessened in esteem by exerting power to make its predictions good. To us it seems a miraculous thing that Moses should have foretold, with such unerring wisdom, the future fortunes of his race. It seems like a high degree of human sagacity. And so it is—so high, that we cannot explain it without resorting to inspiration.

But, under any circumstances, the power and right of fulfilling these predictions belong to God alone. Even the curse of Cain did not give men a right to injure or destroy him. On the contrary, he was under the protection of the Most High. Man has no right to interfere with the judgments of Heaven, till his aid is solicited. All such attempts to help the order of Providence are intrusive, and are well known to spring, not from real interest in the subject, nor from a spirit like that which dictated the prayer, *Thy will be done!* Every inch

that Christianity gains in the world, will be so much gained to the cause of liberality; not that liberality which sets bounds for itself beyond which it will not go, and does nothing more than loosen a little the bands of exclusion, but that liberality which is ready to receive to its fellowship and friendship, all who desire to reach the truth and apply it to their lives. Such have been among the heathen—men who are still the admiration of all enlightened minds, for the power with which they cherished their means of improvement, which, compared with ours, were few and small. Such have been among the Jews, and there will be many more when time has eaten away the wall that separates them from Christians. Then, like the Jews who first embraced Christianity, they may retain what they love in their old system, while they seize all that is excellent in the new.

We think, then, that there is not a shadow of excuse for the manner in which Christians have treated Jews. It must forever remain a blot on the history of Christians;—not on the history of Christianity, for Christianity never had anything to do with any persecution, except to lift up its voice against it. As fast as Christianity has prevailed, the spirit of persecution has given place and departed; and that so much of it still remains, is a sad proof how little Christianity governs in the christian world. We may say, then, that the Jews in modern times have had no opportunity of being acquainted with our religion. They have only seen that misguided faith which armed the hearts and hands of Christians against them. In this form only has it been offered to their adoption—in this form only has it been recommended to their choice. If ever they see it as it is; if ever it is offered to them by men whom they respect; if ever it can be presented to their notice without the disguise of party; if ever they can hear how sternly it has denounced their persecutors,—their feeling may be changed. They may learn that it is the friend of the whole family of man, and therefore it cannot be hostile to the Jew. Christianity, too, will do justice to the firmness with which they have kept the faith, while it laments the cause in which their zeal has been thus exerted. For Christianity abhors the spirit of persecution, but honors the self-devotion of him who chooses banishment, humiliation, and sorrow, rather than renounce any religion which he regards as the gift of God.

We are disposed to think very highly of this History of the

Jews. If the reader remembers the design of it, which was not to discuss points of dogmatic history, but to give a popular and interesting account of the most singular people in the world, he will consider this effort very successful. The obscure parts of the history are clearly told, and the more striking events described in language always good, sometimes eloquent and happy. The author approaches disputed points without timidity or rashness, and debates them, so far as the limits of his work admitted, with a good degree of manly freedom. Though we do not always agree with him, we honor the spirit in which his work is written, and we believe that its effect will be to attach new interest and veneration to the scriptures. Nothing has injured the Jewish records so much as the fierce and suspicious violence, with which every attempt to throw light upon them has been resisted. It is true that such attempts may often lead to unsound interpretation, or rash and fanciful conjecture. But there is nothing which ruins a good cause sooner than a manifest disposition to withdraw it from that discussion to which everything human must submit, and which, though sometimes rough and severe, is an ordeal which truth and innocence can go triumphantly through. We perceive, however, that this manliness has not been universally taken in good part. In his preface to the second edition, the writer takes notice of the objections which have been made to the first, and they are all of that sectarian character, which shows that the objector is a slave to a party. We take the following extract from the preface.

‘It has been suggested that the Author has not sufficiently regarded the “inspiration” of the word of God. His views of inspiration are nearly those of Tillotson, Secker, and Warburton. “A spurious notion,” says the latter, “begotten by superstition in the Jewish Church, and nursed up by piety in the Christian, hath passed, as it were, into a kind of article of faith, that every word and letter of the New Testament (the Bible) was dictated by the Holy Spirit in such a manner, as that the writers were but the passive organs through which his language was conveyed.” Warburton proceeds, with his usual vigor, to show the objections to this opinion; but the Author prefers subjoining the lucid statement of the present eminently learned Bishop of London. “This supposition permits us to believe, what indeed we cannot deny to be probable, that Moses may have possessed many sources of information, from which he would be enabled to draw the most material circumstances of the early history of mankind, without being indebted for his knowledge of them to the immediate inspi-

ration of God. Thus much we may conclude with certainty, that where he did possess the means of accurate knowledge, the Holy Spirit would not interpose to instruct him ; since God, assuredly, never makes an extraordinary exertion of his power to effect that which may be brought about by the ordinary operation of human means. . . . And in general we ought to be cautious of asserting a revelation, when the lower kind of spiritual interference, (*i. e.* the Superintendence of the Holy Spirit) acting upon the materials of human knowledge, would be sufficient to produce the same result." A late writer,* of great good sense and piety, seems to think, that inspiration may safely be limited to doctrinal points, exclusive of those which are purely historical. This view, if correct, would obviate many difficulties.—*Preface*, pp. 7, 8.

With respect to the miracles of the Old Testament, he has spoken with judicious freedom. There has been a disposition to represent the whole history as one continued miracle ; and this has led to so many absurd conclusions, that many have doubted whether any miracle was ever performed, and consequently been induced so resolve the whole into false perception or imposture. One would suppose that the past history of infidelity would teach Christians wisdom. Unbelievers have assailed Christianity through the Old Testament, and not without success. They have shown that many of the characters and deeds there recorded, are unworthy the adoption of the religion of love. And what have Christians done? Have they said, that Christianity is not responsible for the imperfections of the Hebrew religion? that our Saviour is not to be regarded as the advocate of the sufficiency of a faith, which he came on purpose to perfect? On the contrary, they have labored to make it appear that any attempt to investigate the Hebrew faith, is an insult to Him ;—keeping up a delusion, like that of the South Sea Islanders, who believed that the dresses of the navigators who first visited them, were a substantial part of the form. So far from our Saviour's adopting the Hebrew religion in such a way as to make himself answerable for its defects, it appears from his own words, that he felt and acknowledged those defects, and came for the purpose of supplying that which was wanting.

How justly these matters are viewed by Mr Milman, may be learned from the following passage.

'Thus, having provided for the security of the succession, the maintenance of the law, and the lasting dignity of the national religion, David breathed his last, having reigned forty years over the

* Mr Hinds.

flourishing and powerful monarchy of which he may be considered the founder. He had succeeded to a kingdom distracted with civil dissension, environed on every side by powerful and victorious enemies, without a capital, almost without an army, without any bond of union between the tribes. He left a compact and united state, stretching from the frontier of Egypt to the foot of Lebanon, from the Euphrates to the sea. He had crushed the power of the Philistines, subdued or curbed all the adjacent kingdoms: he had formed a lasting and important alliance with the great city of Tyre. He had organized an immense disposable force: every month 24,000 men, furnished in rotation by the tribes, appeared in arms, and were trained as the standing militia of the country. At the head of his army were officers of consummate experience, and, what was more highly esteemed in the warfare of the time, extraordinary personal activity, strength, and valour. His heroes remind us of those of Arthur or Charlemagne, excepting that the armour of the feudal chieftains constituted the superiority; here main strength of body and dauntless fortitude of mind. The Hebrew nation owed the long peace of the son's reign to the bravery and wisdom of the father. If the rapidity with which a kingdom rises to unexampled prosperity, and the permanence, as far as human wisdom can provide, of that prosperity, be a fair criterion of the abilities and character of a sovereign, few kings in history can compete with David. His personal character has been often discussed; but both by his enemies, and even by some of his learned defenders, with an ignorance of, or inattention to, his age and country, in writers of such acuteness as Bayle, as melancholy as surprising. Both parties have been content to take the expression of the *man after God's own heart*, in a strict and literal sense. Both have judged by modern, occidental, and Christian notions, the chieftain of an eastern and comparatively barbarous people. If David in his exile became a freebooter, he assumed a profession, like the pirate in ancient Greece, by no means dishonorable. If he employed craft or even falsehood in some of his enterprises, chivalrous or conscientious attachment to truth was probably not one of the virtues of his day. He had his harem, like other eastern kings. He waged war, and revenged himself on his foreign enemies with merciless cruelty, like other warriors of his age and country. His one great crime violated the immutable and universal laws of morality, and therefore admits of no excuse. On the other hand, his consummate personal bravery and military talent—his generosity to his enemies—his fidelity to his friends—his knowledge of, and steadfast attention to, the true interests of his country—his exalted piety and gratitude towards his God, justify the zealous and fervent attachment of the Jewish people to the memory of their great monarch.'—pp. 202, 203.

We would gladly select some specimen of the author's style from the more eloquent parts of the work, but our limits do not allow it; and besides, we presume that by this time it must have been generally read. We wish that it were possible to give a more full account of the modern Jews; but the materials are wanting. It is as difficult to trace all the fragments of the nation now, as it would be to say on what shore every plank of a shipwreck is cast by the waves; for the nation no longer exists. There are Jews, indeed, who are still united to each other by common hopes and sufferings. But their religion is gone. The worship of the synagogue has supplanted that of the temple, and the rabbins fill the place of the priesthood. Their civil system is gone. All that constitutes a state is wanting. That they should retain their peculiarities under these circumstances, is strange, but not unexampled. We do not mean any disrespect to the Jews when we say that the Gypsy race are equally distinguished by their physical and moral characteristics from the nations in which they dwell. The Jews have a hope ever burning in their breasts, which prevents their wishing for an abiding city. Waiting for a new star in the east, they keep themselves in readiness to start at a moment's warning. Under such circumstances, a modern history of the Jews can be little more than an account of individuals or small societies. It cannot be a history of a single people.

The Jews are expecting a restoration. But they must be sad when they look about them, and ask what there is to restore. They cannot wholly disguise from themselves that a religion of visible signs and unexpressive forms, is not suited to the present age, nor to any that is likely to come. And if they say that its ceremonies shall be done away, they should remark that it will no longer be the same religion. Christianity is Judaism without its corruptions. That faith contained the truth that there is but one God—the same truth that Christianity has spread out into disclosures so profound and momentous. To refer again to an apostle's illustration, Judaism was the lamp, an artificial construction,—Christianity was the rising of the sun. The lamp may be despised when it is no longer needed, but it gave a friendly light in the darkness of the world. Now to restore Judaism to its former station, would be striking out the experience of thousands of years. It would be nothing less than rolling back the sun of righteousness in the heaven, till it sinks under the horizon again. To restore their civil system, would be as

difficult as to restore their religion. It was calculated for a country of narrow bounds, where each might draw an easy subsistence from the soil, while none could become large possessors, and where the simplicity of manners should not require one to acknowledge the superiority of another. To restore such a system, would be renewing the childhood of the world. And what purpose would their restoration answer? A state of peace would be out of the question;—and how would their happiness be advanced by wars of conquest and ambition? The Jews believe that their restoration is to be cotemporary with the Messiah's coming. But when will their Messiah come? Strange indeed, that, when one *mirage* after another in their desert, has encouraged them with hopes that sunk into deep despair, they should still look forward with a trust which no disappointment can alter, no sickness of heart wear away!

The duty of Christians in this matter is clear. It is to present their religion to the Jews in an engaging light, and to show them that persecution is not more odious to those who suffer under it, than it is to Christianity. Wherever the Christian goes to convert others to his faith, he has much to do before he can gain a hearing. He must remove obstacles which the misconduct of Christians has placed in his way. He must show that Christianity is not fairly represented in the lives of many of its believers. Having persuaded them of this, he must show that the truth which Christianity insists upon more forcibly than any other, is, that no man, by opinions only, can ever forfeit his claim to the fellowship of all good men;—a truth which embraces in its broad bright circle, all who do righteously and fear God—all in every nation, Greek or Jew.

ART. III.—*A Journal of a Residence during several Months in London; including Excursions through various Parts of England; and a short Tour in France and Scotland, in the Years 1823 and 1824.* By NATHANIEL S. WHEATON, A. M. Hartford: H. & F. J. Huntington. 1830. 12mo. pp. 520.

'A DOUBLE portion of praise' is conceded by the North American Review to Captain Hall, 'for keeping his pages free

from the names of individuals, and the detail of what he saw and heard beneath the roofs of those who sought or fell into his society.'* Should this canon be established, the volume before us must expect from its critics little else than a summary condemnation. As, however, we feel some doubts respecting the very unqualified position of the able reviewer, and are anxious to ascertain whether or not the pleasure we have derived from Mr Wheaton's descriptions of individuals and private conversations, must be ascribed to a combined error of judgment in him, and vitiated taste in ourselves, we are inclined to bestow on the subject a little discussion.

The opinion we have just quoted appears to us to be one of those extremes, which are so frequently provoked by opposite extravagances and abuses. Prying, impudent, and gossiping travellers have, no doubt, been often guilty of wounding the feelings of their hospitable entertainers, and ministering to a prurient curiosity among their readers. But to insist that all travellers shall therefore suppress the names of individuals in their pages, and report none of their observations on domestic life and manners, or their private conversations with individuals, is really to impose unwarrantable fetters on the liberty of the press. Few are so coldly philosophic, as to feel no curiosity respecting the personal characters and habits of their contemporaries, and especially of such as have attained some celebrity. Nor is this curiosity to be blamed. It is a part of our very nature. It springs from our liveliest social sympathies. To repress it, would be to repress a source, not only of great enjoyment, but of great utility. It may tend indeed to a morbid excess. Then, only, let it be reproved and checked.

Travellers have often been condemned for a too great fondness of generalizing. Give us, their unsatisfied critics have said to them, not *your* impressions, *your* inferences,—but descriptions from the spot, details from the life; and leave conclusions to us. But how can this be done, without sometimes raising the curtain of domestic hospitality, and lending to the picture within, a vivid and individual interest, by the inscription of a name?

Were we disposed to legislate on the subject, we might draw some such lines of discrimination as the following, respecting the employment of names in a book of travels.

* North American Review, Vol. XXIX. p. 522.

Persons, whose characters or professions have led them much into public life, may very properly be designated by their names. It were mere fastidiousness or affectation for them to shrink from the notoriety. They court it, or are inevitably exposed to it, by their very pursuits. Not that a traveller, or any other writer, is entitled to take every liberty, even with public men. There is a decorum to be observed in books, as there is in private conversation. When one of our friends returns from abroad, we meet him perhaps in a crowded circle, and while our host is questioning him on his adventures, the whole company slide into the silence of listeners. Here is a little public. The welcome traveller entertains them with various anecdotes of conspicuous or interesting personages, inspiring a mingled pleasure and gratitude, so long as he confines himself within the bounds of modesty and good taste. But it is no difficult matter to render himself ridiculous or odious, by descending into unimportant details, or ungratefully exposing certain peculiarities in those who have treated him kindly when abroad. Why may not the same latitude, accompanied by the same restrictions, be indulged to him, who talks to a wider circle through the medium of a book?

It may perhaps be replied, that the cases are not exactly parallel, inasmuch as the author virtually rehearses his anecdotes in the presence of the persons to whom they relate,—an act, which, in private society, would be a manifest breach of decorum. But neither is this the true statement of the case. It would be more correct to compare the person, who is described by name in a book of travels, to one who overhears conversation about himself in an adjoining room, or who will probably learn it through the medium of a friend. Now let us allow that he feels some annoyance in this. The question is, whether one of the most delightful departments of literature must be suppressed, to save a few distinguished individuals the amount of inconvenience thus incurred. We should say, certainly not. It is one of those taxes, which eminence must consent to pay. It is to be classed with your daily letters of introduction from all parts of the country, or with the buzz of fame in the street and the saloon, which persecutes the modest ear of one who has been making some successful exertion in public. True magnanimity knows how to bear with and smile at what it cannot very well help. If men *will* rise to the highest stations in the legislature or at the bar, or charm and instruct

whole communities by their discourses and publications, they must consent that we, who crowd the lower slopes of the hill, should trouble them with our curious gaze, and search with some interest after their peculiarities in the books of travellers.

True, much candor, delicacy, and discrimination, are required for the task of description. An eye of jealous criticism, and a right spirit of public opinion, should frown down that idle or libellous flippancy, which seeks rather to thrust itself into notice, than to gratify a rational curiosity, or do justice to living greatness. And this is to place the book of travels on the same footing with everything else in this uncertain world, where newspapers, and tongues, and pens, are perpetually liable to press beyond the bounds of strict propriety. Their whole liberty must not be taken away, but the requisite checks must be imposed.

Some individuals, by their eminence and the course of their lives, are so entirely the property of the public, that a desire to learn everything connected with their persons, is not to be harshly resolved into an appetite for scandal. When Fearon, in his *Sketches*, so minutely described the family dinner of which he partook at the table of the Ex-president Adams, we doubt if any reader of taste and candor felt offended at the disclosure, or could more easily have forgiven any other passage in that boyish book. Did travellers usually give the bill of fare of private tables, it would be intolerable indeed. But here, all mere petty household curiosity was absorbed in a comparison between the republican simplicity of the good patriarch's mode of living, and those images of style and splendor, which the remembered chief magistracy of a great and powerful country naturally suggested to the mind. Even the *North American Review* quotes willingly from Captain Hall 'the substance of a conversation which he held with Mr Noah Webster,' without reproving him for disclosing the private observations of that eminent man; forgetting, moreover, in this instance, at least, to keep its own pages 'free from the names of individuals.' We blame neither the review nor the traveller for this; since every observation connected with literature, which reaches us through an honorable channel from Noah Webster, shall be received with gratitude.

While on this subject, we may cursorily inquire, whether the passion, so prevalent in England, for speculating on the foibles and vices of the great, merits quite the exceeding repre-

hension with which it is so popular to visit it. We should remember that nothing is adapted more keenly to interest a community of free and inquisitive habits, than an established distinction of ranks. To secure the acquiescence of an independent people in such an institution, its advantages must be preeminent and unquestionable. It is natural for them to inquire whether the virtues connected with high birth have indeed kept pace with its privileges, and corresponded with its motives and opportunities for the attainment of moral excellence. Rank implies, in its very nature, a superiority of pretension; and pretension, by an established law, provokes a watchful jealousy. It is also in the nature of rank sometimes to court observation, to challenge admiration, and sometimes to draw the curiosity of the vulgar towards its more retired mysteries. When thus the popular gaze is so strongly attracted, can it be expected that the good qualities alone of the high-born will be singled out for its scrutiny? Human nature must be altered first. Nor is this eye of keen scrutiny, fixed on the morals of the elevated, and seconded, as it too often is, by the tongue of scandal ready to circulate their aberrations, entirely without its benefits. It acts as a check upon those who are so greatly tempted on the one hand, and so narrowly observed on the other. It tends to abate somewhat of the extravagant reverence which is paid to rank. It serves to dissipate the delusion, and to console men for the inequality, in which splendor of birth involves the society where it prevails. By these observations, we only intend, partly to account for, and partly to palliate the rage, of which we so much hear, for speculating on the scandals of foreign high life, but which we do not pretend to justify in all its excesses.

Still, it may be asked, in reference to the more immediate track of our inquiry,—Shall names, which are altogether private, be obtruded into a painful notoriety? Shall the sanctuary of domestic hospitality be invaded, and conversations disclosed to the world, which those who unsuspectingly partook in them, never imagined would be repeated? Bold as it may seem, we venture to say that there appears to us in this language not a little of factitious apprehension, and perhaps a spice of no doubt unconscious cant. We revere, as profoundly as any one, the sacred shades of home. But we beg to distinguish them from the privacy of a convent. Nor can we forget that the true charm and happiness of home, are often rather

increased than violated by opening its doors. What free-masonry, what mystery, is involved in a dinner? A social party is no conclave of conspirators. Opinions there expressed, are always, to a certain degree, liable to be laid before the public, unless the peculiar nature of the case enjoins a discreet secrecy. Manners, forms, customs, incidents, witnessed there, may be legitimate and innocent subjects of description. Forbid it that we should advocate the race of Anne Royals. But an enlightened, candid, prudent, and gentlemanly traveller, who has enjoyed peculiar opportunities for observing the interior of foreign society, is surely justified in publishing his journal for the benefit of that very numerous class, who are compelled to remain at home. The lavish introduction of obscure names, indeed, may be objectionable in point of taste. But there can be little good cause of complaint, if initials, and occasionally, with due discretion, entire names are employed, to give to the record, a life, a point, and an air and voucher of authenticity, which it could not otherwise possess.

Perhaps it may be thought that the force of these observations will be weakened by applying to them the following personal test. Would you, it may be asked, give a very cordial welcome to a stranger, if you suspected that you should in consequence be 'served up cold,' some time after, in a volume of his travels? We reply, that such a circumstance is not calculated to chill the hospitality of one, who is conscious of moving in a respectable sphere, and associates with persons of ordinary good sense. We are all in some degree at the mercy of every stranger who enters our doors. The mere fact that a visiter will speak of us and ours to his friends, ought not to abate our hospitality. We know not why we should swear him to silence on our threshold. If we have reason to believe that he will speak of us with impertinence or malignity, then indeed we shall be on our guard.—So with the foreign traveller. An honorable citizen would say to him, You came among us favorably recommended, and are therefore welcome. You propose hereafter to publish an account of your adventures. Whatever you may observe beneath our roof, characteristic of the general state of society and manners, you are at liberty to record. Mere personal peculiarities you will of course avoid. Reveal, if you please, whether the favorite topics of conversation be literature or news, and how long the ladies remained at the dessert; but suppress, in mercy,

the mistakes which the servants may commit, and any consequent irritations you may observe on the countenances of their master and mistress.

Having thus attempted to settle our critical canons, though at much greater length than if authority so high had not encountered us at the threshold, we proceed to apply them to the article in review. While the scope of our preceding observations would afford a protection to the major part of Mr Wheaton's volume, yet the utmost extent of our liberal maxims must leave some portions of it open to exception. He has communicated to us a certain quantity and species of information, for which we readily profess our gratitude. We approve and sympathize with his thoroughly professional tone of observation. Perhaps we have had enough general descriptions of England and English society. The late Dr Holley used to say, that Americans knew more of that country than Englishmen themselves ;—referring, of course, to persons of both nations moving in the same class. To render our knowledge still more analytical and complete, we needed reports of the state of things there, drawn up, so to speak, from particular points of vision. We needed the accounts of men, whose tastes or professions led them into separate veins of speculation. Mr Wheaton is an instance strong enough of what we mean. He goes out as a religious man and a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He attempts not to disguise or resist the predilections and affinities naturally implied in these characters. It is not England as a whole, which seems to attract his eye, but England as a land of preachers, the seat of a church establishment, the nurse of religion, literature, and morals. Hence, although we may look for the exhibition of some prejudices, yet we expect in the observations of such a traveller, that accuracy, warmth, and life of coloring, which can be inspired only by a vivid personal interest.

It is but justice to our author to declare, that what prejudices he seems to have, are unmingled with a supercilious, intolerant spirit. Episcopacy in New England wears probably a more amiable aspect than elsewhere. The recipe for mitigating the odious features of any religious denomination, is simply this ;—Be not the dominant party. There is deep wisdom in that heavenly maxim, *Blessed* are ye when men shall persecute you. Christianity owed much to persecution ; and so in its turn has every one of its sects. Not that Episcopacy

has ever borne a very hard lot even in New England. But there has been just that measure of jealous, lowering, overbearing toleration grudgingly yielded to her, which has done her no little good, and moulded her into a very meek and amiable sect. Widely removed as are our doctrines from theirs, we are glad of this opportunity to render our testimony, in which we are confident that our readers will join, that a more respectable, more worthy, and, generally speaking, more liberal community than the Episcopalians of New England, nowhere exists. We should antecedently have said, that if the church of England at home, is to be tried in judgment by any of her colonial sons, the task could not probably be better executed than by one from Connecticut. He would visit her under the influence of her own genius, subdued and chastened by circumstances, by distance, and by time. He would so much belong to her, as to approach her with filial sympathy and affection; he would be so much independent of, nay, so much estranged from her, as to be struck by her peculiarities, willing enough to detect her imperfections, and courageous enough to reprove them.

Mr Wheaton's voyage to England was marked by no very interesting incidents. He is inclined to ascribe the dissipation of mind and the unfitness for a sober application to study, which are produced by a sea life, to the want of an immediate exciting motive. But the same want of immediate exciting motives often exists on land, without being attended by the same consequences. The effect in question we should ascribe partly to physical, and partly to other mental causes than the one assigned by our author. Even after recovering from seasickness, a considerable time is required for the brain to become accustomed to the roll of the sea, and the odious exhalations from the ship. A feverish lassitude is thus produced, and the power of attention is in a degree physically diseased. To this is undoubtedly to be added, the effect which always arises from a violent and total change of one's usual associations. Not only at sea, but under any form of travelling, or even when settled down for a few weeks or months on a visit among one's friends, the effort requisite to achieve any continued intellectual labor, is much greater than where the well-known furniture, library, prospects, and current of surrounding life, combine to tell the mind, what they have long told it, that there is its home. Who can forget the broken vows and

unread volumes of the long college vacation? Although the student has then several weeks at his entire command, yet he seldom accomplishes so much as he does voluntarily, during an equal period in term time, apart from his prescribed exercises. Here he is already in the traces; and his will, which is subjected by others, is more easily subjected by himself. It is true, that circumstances of extraordinary excitement will sometimes overcome the distracting causes we have referred to. A revered clerical friend, not long since deceased, and of the ripest attainments, * informed us, that the most intense effort he ever accomplished was a critical study of the Epistle to the Romans, on his first visit to England, and in one of the noisiest streets of the metropolis. The excitement arising from his situation he considered to be so great as not to distract, but rather to concentrate his attention. His *motive* for study would have been equally great at sea, or elsewhere; but its effect would have proved different.

Our author throws himself into his favorite sphere of observation, with an ardor which is sustained throughout, and which sometimes appears amusing. Scarcely, for instance, has he arrived at Liverpool, when he sets off on his first Sunday morning, walking two miles and a half and back again, through a drizzling rain, to hear a preacher of the established church. This preacher is Mr Buddicombe, 'known in America by a volume or two of published sermons, distinguished by their eloquence, piety, and good sense. Although he used but little action, his enunciation was earnest and emphatic, and commanded a deep attention from an audience, which, notwithstanding the bad weather, was very numerous.' In the afternoon, our traveller went to another church, which he names, 'where all the impressions he had received in the morning were reversed. A dropsical, gouty old man, whose infirmities seemed to be the fruit of good living, galloped through the service with a most indecent haste, and in a hoarse and scarcely audible voice. He was followed by a decent young man, who preached a decent sermon on the completeness of the christian system, which could offend nobody. Indeed, there were few present to be either scandalized or benefited by his lucubrations.' Mr Wheaton's evening, again, was spent at the church of the Asylum for the Blind, 'where he heard a sensi-

* Rev. S. C. Thatcher, of Boston.

ble, but, as he thought, not a very appropriate discourse, from the rector. He had too much to say about infidels, and reason enlightened by revelation; and was too speculative for an audience composed of the blind, or indeed for any congregation whatever.'

This history of Mr Wheaton's adventures on his first sabbath abroad, is characteristic of his tour throughout, so far as relates to the sacred day. It is characteristic, we will also venture to add, of certain predilections, before alluded to, with which we think his mind was affected. In some passages of his book, he utters his explicit testimony in favor of those doctrines and that party connected with the Church of England, which are usually denominated *evangelical*. Now it may be fairly presumed, even by the most candid reader, that, without Mr Wheaton's intending to misrepresent anything which he saw and heard, his impressions and descriptions would be colored by the prevailing atmosphere of his mind. We are not stoutly disposed to deny, that the evangelical, in comparison with the other party in the Church of England, contains the best preachers, the most crowded congregations, and the most decided share of piety. But we cannot resist the conviction, nor refrain from warning our readers of the possibility, —for which we shall soon show strong reasons,—that our author's representations of the state of things in these respects, are slightly warped by his own personal biases. Mr Buddicombe, if we remember rightly, is a preacher of the evangelical stamp. Let us just suppose that the decent sermon by the decent young man on the completeness of the christian system (a noble subject!) which could offend nobody, had been delivered with an 'earnest and emphatic enunciation' by Mr Buddicombe. Would it not have been apt to change its character, and instead of being sneered at, as a decent, inoffensive sermon, would it not have been 'distinguished for its eloquence, piety, and good sense?' So, too, with regard to the evening preacher, our traveller appears actuated by a somewhat captious spirit. 'Too much to say about reason enlightened by revelation!' What a slur on the most important of subjects! We hardly know how to take such an expression from the pen of a christian minister. Had Tindal or Bolingbroke uttered it, we might have comprehended the force of *his* objection. But as it now stands, we cannot account for it, except on the supposition, that the critic, having from some quarter discover-

ed the doctrinal complexion of the preacher, was led, by an imperceptible prejudice, to find a little fault with him at all hazards. As for the treatment of infidels in the same discourse, it might have been entirely appropriate for a congregation of the blind, who necessarily pass much of their time, we suppose, in conversation and idleness, and among whom a few speculative minds, or even one alone, might have been known to scatter poison, which could not be more effectually resisted than by an attack from the pulpit.

We may possibly be laying too much stress on these distinctions, but they will at least serve to show under what different aspects the same subjects will be viewed by different minds.

Fairly notifying to both our readers and Mr Wheaton, that it is not our intention to follow him throughout with this scrupulous analysis, and candidly repeating the acknowledgment, that his evangelical leanings are very remote from an odious exclusiveness, we will only remark upon one other point in the passage before us. We regretted to see the physical description, almost amounting to a lampoon, which is carried home and fastened to a particular individual, by the mention of the church where he officiates. If it was necessary to illustrate the evils of an establishment, or to accomplish any other purpose, by such an exhibition, the allusion might easily have been made more general. We trust that nothing will have been found in the exordium of our article, to shelter this delinquency of the traveller from due reprehension. But he does not often thus offend.

As to the following *sketchy* caricature of Liverpool, we conceive it to have been thrown off in a moment of ill-humor, and that our author's candor would have considerably modified it, had he first visited that city in a more genial season, and been permitted an extensive acquaintance with its society and institutions.

'Having devoted what time we could spare to a survey of notable things, we packed up our trunks, and prepared to take leave of this city of docks, fat men and fat women, coal-smoke, dirty streets, cast iron, mammon and mud.'—p. 30.

In passing from Liverpool to Birmingham, we meet with an occurrence which shows the ruling bent of the traveller's mind. Blessings on the enthusiasm, which can forego a dinner, on a long day's journey, in search of the sacred picturesque!

'A little after noon, we reached the ancient city of Stafford, very compactly built, but not very extensive. The extreme narrowness of the streets, and the jutting houses of timber and plaster, proclaim at once the antiquity of the place. While our coach-companions were snatching their hasty meal, we sallied forth to look at the churches, whose venerable appearance at a distance had attracted our notice. To find them was no easy matter, amidst such a labyrinth of crooked lanes. At length, we made our way to one, rather by accident than design; but another, whose "antique towers" had arrested our attention, defied all our attempts to approach it, or even to find where it stood, so completely was it hidden by the irregular piles of old buildings in its neighbourhood. A blast from the bugle put an end to our researches; and we hastened back just in time to resume our seats.'—pp. 31, 32.

In Birmingham, he was so fortunate as to be present at the Musical Festival. The following passage may be acceptable to our readers, for other reasons than the good talent at description displayed in it.

'Who has not heard of Madame Catalani? Her reputation for being the best of all the tuneful choir in the world, may warrant a more particular notice of her. If her singing delighted me, I was disgusted with her affectation. At a pause in the performance, she was led forward, and took her seat; and immediately commenced bowing and smiling to the genteel company which sat in the opposite gallery. Then she threw herself into a variety of postures, adjusting her dress, smiling, languishing, clasping her hands, throwing up her eyes, and *attitudenizing* in the most affected manner, till the organ began the prelude to the solo,—“I know that my Redeemer liveth;” when she arose and commenced that strain, so full of pathos and trembling hope. But its effect was nearly lost on me; I could not drive her fantastic airs out of my head sufficiently to enter into the spirit of the piece. The vast power, the richness, the compass and flexibility of her voice, however, were evident. She sang with sufficient simplicity, until she came to the penultimate syllable, to which she appended such a string of graces and embellishments, as to cause every one involuntarily to suspend breathing till she had got through. In her person she is tall and full formed; with nothing Italian in her features, except her eyes, which are full, soft, and dark: her dress was rather gaudy, and decorated with a profusion of jewels.'—pp. 34, 35.

No scene or adventure in the book has more interested us than the glimpse which the author caught of Dr Parr. It

seems like an incident which one would introduce into an imaginary tour through England, rather than an occurrence of real life. We should be glad of such an experience to relate to our children's children, and hardly know whether the sight of York Cathedral were more worthy of a visit across the Atlantic.

'At Hatton, a little hamlet on the road, we drew up before a small, plain house, to take in a young Oxonian. A fat old gentleman, in a bob wig and clerical dress, with a long pipe in his mouth, came out to take leave of his former pupil. "Farewell, Charles; God bless you, my dear fellow;—take care of yourself; farewell, farewell,"—said the old man shaking his young friend heartily by the hand. This was DOCT. PARR, the famous Greek scholar, whose name is familiar to the literati all over Europe. The young student gave us some anecdotes of the doctor, whom he spoke of with enthusiasm. He is Vicar of Hatton; and his little church, capable of holding twenty families, is buried under a clump of elms, at a small distance from the road. His authority among his parishioners is unbounded; and he employs it to the benevolent purpose of healing their differences, and advising them in all their little concerns. Instead of preaching his own sermons, he takes a volume of Barrow or Tillotson into the pulpit,—gives some account of the author,—reads a discourse.—explains as he goes along, and translates the hard words into more intelligible English. His salary is only £80 per annum; and small as it is, he has no wish for preferment.'—p. 36.

The following note of the author on this passage, appears to deserve one or two criticisms.

'Dr Parr is since dead. His being overlooked, in the dispensation of church patronage, was owing to his Unitarianism, and general laxity of religious principle; of which he made little secret. For some time before his death, it was his custom to mutilate the liturgy—still retaining his living in the national church, to whose articles and formularies he had repeatedly subscribed his assent.—p. 36, *note*.

Here is a spice of uncharitableness, coupled with a spice of inaccuracy. We have to complain of our traveller for placing Dr Parr's Unitarianism in such close juxtaposition with his alleged laxity of religious principle, as to make one appear but the natural effect or concomitant of the other. We protest against any connexion between them. We know not why simple and intelligible views of the Deity should lead to a loose-

ness of religious principle. And when from theory we come to fact, we believe it will be found, that Unitarians, as a body, have been as firm, as strict, as distinct, as conscientious, as ready for sacrifices, and as unsuspicious, in the profession, maintenance, and defence, of their peculiar religious views, as any equal average body of Trinitarians.

But further, we wonder Mr Wheaton should have forgotten that Dr Parr's political principles and connexions were quite as efficient a cause as his Unitarianism, of his being overlooked in the dispensation of church patronage. Is the orthodoxy of every dignitary in the English church unquestionable? Did our traveller himself hear no whispers in this regard, relative to the present York chapter? Indeed, to any one acquainted with the state of things in that establishment since Dr Parr commenced his career, the idea of his Unitarianism, and let us add, too, of the laxity of his religious principles, being the sole obstacle to his promotion, might be rather incredible.

If, instead of charging that great and good man with a laxity of religious principle, our author had ascribed to him a liberality of sentiment, which scorned all sectarian partiality, all mean and selfish disguise, he would have expressed the truth of the case. And because the Doctor 'made little secret' of *this*, we take the liberty to insist, that his 'religious principle,' in the right sense of the phrase, was only so much the more strict. Had he really been lax, had he been willing to tamper with the most awful truths and objects in existence, he would neither have taken the trouble, nor braved the odium, 'of mutilating the liturgy,' but would quietly have read it through, like a stanch churchman, without discriminating between what his reason approved and what it abhorred. As for the poor sarcasm that he still retained his living in the national church to whose articles and formularies he had repeatedly subscribed his assent, we would express our astonishment, that a writer like Mr Wheaton, who must know the sense in which the articles of the church have long been subscribed to by a great portion of the wisest and best of her sons, should see fit to aim a blow at the head of Dr Parr, which must recoil on the whole establishment itself. The objection so uncandidly hinted in this note against the Doctor, has no force whatever, unless it be granted, that every word of the articles is faithfully and literally believed by every honest churchman who subscribes to them. And would even Mr Wheaton maintain

this? If he would, he runs into a new dilemma, and finds himself connected with a church, which presents the most cruel temptations, the most galling and slavish chains to those of her members who dare but to doubt, or even impartially examine the doctrines they have subscribed. Dr Parr, like an honest man, only realized and carried out into the light of day, the scruples which agitate the tender but coward consciences of thousands of his brethren. By our author's confession, he had only to be silent, and he might have attained preferment. But he nobly spoke out and wrote; he piously 'mutilated,' if that must be the word, and so far as such conduct could exert an influence, removed the lawn from his grasp. We shall be slow to believe the charge of laxity in religious principle against such a man, particularly when subjoined, as it is, to so beautiful and affecting an account of the manner in which he discharged his parochial duties.

Let us now follow our traveller into the study of an English prelate.

'Having occasion to wait on the Bishop of London,* I took the road, one fine morning, to Fulham, the country residence of the Bishop. I found him at home, and, after sending up my card, was shown into the library. While he was perusing my letters, I had an opportunity of studying his features and appearance. His age is apparently near sixty—his complexion sallow and unhealthy, like that of a man of studious habits; the expression of his countenance benevolent, rather than marked with lines of strong thought; and his person thin and emaciated. He had on the usual episcopal dress, consisting of a bob wig, a cassock, and straight-breasted coat, buttoned up to the neck. On his table lay a pile of letters, which he seemed to be perusing and answering; but he pushed them aside, and immediately entered into conversation, putting a variety of questions relative to the church in the United States, and the state of literature amongst us. On the subject of Unitarianism, he was particularly inquisitive. Speaking of our literary men, he observed, "You have some able writers in your country.—I read the *North American Review*, and I think some of the articles admirably written, and with a juster judgment on the merits of the books reviewed, than is shown by our reviewers. But the mystery of reviewing here wants explaining. The writer, for instance, must not condemn a book, which stands on the shelves of his *publisher*.—Then

* Hawley, now Archbishop of Canterbury.'

again, he considers to what religious or political *party* the author belongs, and the work is approved or condemned accordingly. The Edinburgh Review has often been highly inconsistent; sometimes depreciating, and then commending the same work, according to the immediate purpose to be answered. It is decidedly hostile to Christianity; but has now sunk almost out of notice in this country." After remaining near an hour, I rose to take leave; but he still detained me, standing and conversing, which led me to hope that my visit had not been unpardonably prolonged. His library is a small apartment, very plainly but neatly fitted up, and looking out on the Thames, which glides peacefully along a few yards from the windows. The impression I received from the interview was, that his lordship's talents are of a highly respectable stamp—his knowledge general, and his disposition amiable and benevolent. He talks much, but not fluently, nor always with a happy choice of expressions—appearing sometimes to be at a loss for proper words, and often stopping to change the form of a sentence. These defects disappear, however, before the kindness and affability of his manners.'—pp. 43, 44.

We are happy to observe, that, of late years, the Edinburgh Review has been far from 'decidedly hostile to Christianity,' and that, since the above recorded conversation (1824), when the reputation of that work for ability had a good deal declined, it has again approached a standard, but little, if at all, inferior to that it formerly sustained. The Bishop's criticism on these points, must receive several grains of allowance, coming, as it does, from a retired student and a high churchman.

'Having letters to the venerable Bishop of Durham, I called one day at his house in Cavendish Square, and sent in my card; and was soon after shown into his study. I found him busily engaged in writing letters, which he laid aside on my entrance. It was not difficult to recognize at once, in his noble features, the resemblance I had seen and admired in his engraved portrait; and although he is now, as he said, in his ninetieth year, his stature is erect, his look commanding, and his mental faculties apparently in full vigor. He said he was still compelled to devote a great deal of time to business, notwithstanding his extreme age; but hoped he should be found faithful at last. Speaking of the United States, he adverted to the war of the revolution; and said that his brother, Lord Barrington, then one of the Secretaries, wished that hostilities might be confined to the sea; it would exasperate less, would spare the effusion of blood, and the war might terminate without the separation of the colonies.

But finally he observed, a separation was inevitable. He inquired, whether the hostile feeling (he corrected the expression: he would not call it hostile, but *unfriendly*) towards England, had subsided since the last war: I said, I thought it had; that setting those aside, whose heads were heated with party politics, the general feeling of Americans towards the country of their ancestors was warm and friendly. He rejoiced to hear that this was the case—it could not well be otherwise, considering that, but a few years ago, we were one people. It was a subject of regret, that a degree of alienation was still kept up by the scribblers in newspapers and reviews, who had more influence in both countries than they deserved. Referring to Harvard University, he said he thought it was once correct in its theological views: an intimate and excellent friend of his, the son of a former governor of Massachusetts Province was educated there—but he was now no more. I gave him a short history of the change of religion in that university; which led to other inquiries, whether the Professors were men of ability—whether they were of the clerical order—amongst what denomination of Christians Unitarianism prevailed—by whom their clergy were ordained, &c. It was no subject of surprise, that those Unitarians who maintain the absolute non-existence of a clerical order, should quit the pulpit for other more congenial pursuits, when it suited their convenience. The Bishop spoke in high terms of the sermons of the late Bishop Dehon, which he had read through. They did honor to the church in America.—pp. 67, 68.

We profess to be entirely in the dark as to one topic of this conversation. Who, or where these Unitarians are, that *maintain the absolute non-existence of a clerical order*, we are quite ignorant. We recollect, indeed, that the extravagant pretensions of Episcopalians on this subject, were as completely and unanswerably exposed in a certain series of letters, published some time since in Baltimore, as any rational Christian could desire. It is equally certain that American Unitarians, to a man, not only recognise the existence of a clerical order, but that they attach to it the greatest importance, regarding it as an indispensable instrument for the extension and maintenance of true Christianity. And though we have discarded the superstitious and unscriptural notions of earlier times, respecting the impress and transmission of the priestly character, yet among no denomination of Christians is a faithful performance of the sacred functions held in higher esteem, and among none are fewer exchanges, in proportion to their numbers, made

from the clerical for other professions in life. Still, we all consider that the man alone must magnify his office, and we will not permit the mere office to magnify the man. Nor do we know, why a minister of religion, who believes he can serve God and his race a great deal more effectually in any other calling, should still be chained to a profession, to which he finds his tastes, character, and circumstances but ill adapted. The door being thus left open, those who remain within the pale, enjoy at least the advantage of working under no sense of constraint, and feel that they are presenting their lives a free-will offering to the Lord.

Mr Wheaton quotes with apparent approbation a portion of a discourse, which he heard from the eccentric Rowland Hill:

“ ‘The Socinian’s prayer’—for he had a little of everything in his discourse—he said, was,—“ Lord, I thank thee that thou hast given me a fine reason, and a superior understanding, and a great many other clever talents; and for these things, O Lord, I thank thee.”—p. 134.

These little touches of slander and exaggeration are no doubt very gratifying to those who have learned to look upon Socinians as a stigmatized party. But who ever heard of a Socinian thanking God that he had a *fine* reason, and a *superior* understanding, and *clever* talents? That Socinians should be grateful for the gift of reason, is but a proof of their piety. That they should be assiduous in using it, implies only their fidelity. That they should employ it, as we believe they earnestly do, in ascertaining the claims and the genuine import of revelation, shows only that they are willing to consecrate it to the highest of all purposes, the attainment of a pure and enlightened faith. Since our author has thought it worth while to circulate this loose sneer against a misunderstood and injured denomination of Christians, we have thought it worth while to subject it to a brief test of truth and fact.

The author’s opinion as to the general character of preaching in the metropolis of England must interest our readers:

‘On the following Sunday, I repaired in the morning to St. Botolph’s, Bishop’s-gate street, of which Archdeacon Blomfield* is rector. He is reckoned one of the best preachers in London, as well as one of the first *Grecians* in the country. There was

* ‘Afterwards Bishop of Chester, and now Bishop of London.’

a large and attentive congregation in the church, and a numerous company of communicants surrounded the chancel. I was fortunate enough to hear the Archdeacon; but observed nothing in his discourse worthy of particular commendation. It wanted *method*; and, like many of the sermons I have heard in and about London, was deficient in strong and manly thought. There is a barrenness of invention in almost all of them—a poverty of matter which may be traced, in part, to a radically deficient theological education. The preachers have *literature* in abundance, which they lay up at the universities; they rarely offend against the laws of correct writing; but they have not *theology* enough. The sermon I heard was pious and practical; and towards the conclusion, impressive. The subject was, “the path of the just, a shining light.”—p. 153.

In the fulness of our liberality, we were about to devise some palliations of this disparaging picture, and to suggest that, as the London divines do not prepare their discourses merely for theologians, who come from a great distance, and who are naturally anxious to find their favorite views embraced and inculcated by others, it was tolerable praise, that their ministrations were ‘pious, practical, and impressive.’ But we recollected some remarks of the author in another part of the book, which shall be given as a substitute for our own.

‘I have been long convinced, however, that the talents of a preacher are not to be correctly estimated by a single discourse. The best must necessarily preach a great many indifferent sermons; and men of eminent abilities are the most unequal in their pulpit productions. All subjects, too, are not equally promising: the invention of the clearest and most active spirits will sometimes flag; and then the work of composition proceeds heavily.’—p. 217.

And may not the small quantity of theology in the sermons of the London divines be at least a questionable defect? So difficult it is to keep from thorny speculation and unprofitable controversy, so tempting the lure and so easy the task to interweave into every discourse a favorite system, which shall indirectly flatter the opinions of hearers, that we feel disposed to entertain great candor at least, if not great respect for those clergymen, who chiefly confine themselves to the rather unattractive path of simply practical instruction. Occasionally, however, a doctrinal sermon, full, frank, and explicit, should strengthen with the requisite bone, the flesh

and blood of such a body of preaching. And we have reason to believe, that the Blomfields, the Andrewses, the Hodgsons, the Laws, and other dignitaries of the English church, fulfil their duty in this respect, although they happened not to meet Mr Wheaton's views of the *beau ideal*, in the sermons which he accidentally heard. We are afraid, too, that they might reasonably complain of some want of consistency in our author's animadversions. When one of them,* on the morning of Good Friday, labored to set forth the important and interesting *doctrinal* position, that the fulfilment of prophecies respecting our Saviour constituted a proof of his Messiahship, Mr Wheaton sees no propriety or merit in the discourse, because the point under discussion was one, 'which probably none of his hearers doubted,' though the church was filled in every part, with a miscellaneous London audience, attracted in extremely unpleasant weather by the popularity of the preacher. If there were no doubters on that point, in such an audience, we are glad to hear of it; but we are more afraid of some lurking prejudice in the reporter. In like manner, on the very next Sunday, when he hears Dr Hodgson, in a 'methodical, perspicuous, and conclusive discourse,' maintain that 'the incredulity of Thomas was unreasonable,' he insinuates that a discourse on such a subject, though preached on Easter-Day, was a mere waste effort, because 'his hearers already believed in the resurrection.' The church was on that occasion, also, crowded to excess by multitudes, the stability of whose faith our author so confidently regards as beyond all question. Why, also, may we ask, is it objected to Dr Blomfield, that his discourse wanted method, when the incoherent rhapsodies of the evangelical Rowland Hill only call forth the candid inquiries, whether 'sermons in general are not too stately for the audience, and whether preachers are not too much afraid of having their literary taste criticised, when to convince and persuade ought to be their only anxiety?'

The key to these little inconsistencies may be found in the following paragraph, on which we propose to make a few remarks:—

'I am persuaded that a higher tone of piety prevails, than would be naturally expected from the general style of pulpit instruction which it has been my lot to witness. That the latter

* Dr Andrews, Dean of Canterbury.

has undergone, however, a great change for the better within the last fifty years—that it has become more purely evangelical—that the doctrines of man's depravity by nature, of the necessity of a spiritual regeneration, of justification by faith alone, through the merits of Christ, have been, and still are, more frequently and distinctly held up to view—that there has been a general movement in the national establishment towards a return to the standard of her own articles, and of the Reformation—are facts which admit of no dispute. This change in the spiritual views of a large and influential portion of the clerical body has, to a considerable extent, produced a corresponding one among the people. The piety of the dissenters, I have been frequently assured, is in a great measure transferred to the national church; while many of their own chapels, once blessed with an orthodox ministry, have passed with their endowments into the hands of those who preach another gospel. The case of the dissenters at the present day affords a striking example, how difficult it is for a religious community to hold fast the profession of their faith, without the standard of a Liturgy, to which the doctrines of the pulpit may constantly be referred.—pp. 159, 160.

It seems that, like most honest religionists, our author is inclined to ascribe an omnipotent influence to the favorite peculiarities which distinguish his own from other sects. He is perplexed by a fact, the confession of which is more than once extorted from him, that there should be so high an apparent tone of piety, so much decorum, so much seriousness, so thronged an attendance, in congregations which are debarred from 'evangelical' preaching! The kind of pulpit instruction, which alone he thinks *ought* to produce such effects, is that founded on the Calvinistic doctrines of the depravity of man's nature, the necessity of spiritual regeneration, and of justification by faith. Now we beg to assure him, that, wherever the ministers of the gospel, in the spirit of affectionate fidelity, urge upon their hearers the duty of repentance, on the simple and intelligible principles of rational Christianity, congregations will, on the whole, be as large and attentive—men will grow as pious and good, as they ever will under the inculcation of those extravagant positions, which bewilder their imaginations, and cause their natural reason and conscience to revolt. Nor will there be found, in the bosom of such communities, a considerable number of sober, worthy, intelligent, and religious individuals, who resolutely stand aloof from the doctrinal system urged upon them, and occasionally betray for it emotions of

contempt and aversion. Nor will still greater numbers be repelled without the porch, plunged into sullen infidelity or irreligious desperation, and never to be attracted back to the sanctuary, except, perhaps, amidst the torm and panic of a half-century revival.

When claims so lofty are made by good and sensible men, in favor of the doctrines above enumerated as constituting the substance of truly evangelical instruction, it is really worth while for those who value the principles of Liberal Christianity, to stand forth, and be equally explicit in stating the grounds of their preference, and in comparing the relative merits of the opposite systems in question. On the present occasion, we can do little more than furnish a few hints, although the subject is fully susceptible of an extended disquisition. In the first place, then, instead of the depravity of man's nature, scripture and experience seem, in our view, to concur in teaching no more than its *depraveableness*, and the consequent result which actually exists;—viz. a great, but not total depravity among men. This condition of human nature was sufficient to warrant the interposition of Heaven by a new revelation. It would render necessary the healing and preservative power of Christian institutions; and it seems to us the only consistent ground of humility, repentance, and vigilance on the part of those to whom the gospel is proposed,—the only consistent ground of faithful and persevering exertions on the part of preachers, in warning, reproving, exhorting to repentance, instructing, spending and being spent, in short, for the moral and spiritual benefit of their hearers.

The second doctrine, for which such vital importance is challenged, is, the necessity of spiritual regeneration. Now, looking this phrase full in the face, and translating it into plain terms, without any flinching or softening reservations, it signifies, that, whatever be the existing character of an individual, however innocent his life, pure his intentions, and positive his virtues,—Washington, for instance, or Howard—unless a supernatural change before death shall have taken place within him, he can expect nothing but everlasting damnation in the world to come. The Liberal Christian pauses before venturing to announce these terrible and extreme terms of salvation. He solemnly compares with the whole tenor of the New Testament, the circumstances under which Jesus declared to Nicodemus the necessity of a new birth. He perceives in the

change required at that interview by the Saviour, the laying aside of mistaken conceptions respecting the temporal power and splendor of the approaching kingdom of God, or reign of the Messiah, and the substituting in their room more spiritual and humbling views of it as a moral and religious dispensation.* He, therefore, cannot employ this very bold figure of speech in a new, and violent, and, as he believes, often a most dangerous sense, which he thinks never entered the Saviour's mind. Say not, that if this sense be no longer the burden of preaching, preaching will lose its power; for there still remain man's tremendous responsibility, and the awful sanctions of the gospel, not to speak of other moral instruments, by which the christian teacher may happily induce both himself and his fellow men to forsake the evil of their ways, and turn to the living God.

So, in the third place, we profess to see in the Calvinistic doctrine of justification by faith, a phrase borrowed from the ancient controversies of St Paul with the Judaizing Christians of his time, and applied to a modern combination of ideas and feelings entirely remote from that apostle's meaning. Circumcision, and other observances of the Mosaic law, being pressed upon the new converts as necessary to their justification, or complete righteousness, the apostle vindicates the liberty of Christians from the imposition of such shackles, and represents the christian faith, with its necessary consequences of moral and religious obedience, as sufficient for their justification. The true spirit and essence of this doctrine are maintained by Liberal preachers, when they teach their hearers, as they constantly do, not to depend on the efficacy of mere rites and ceremonies, or even the outside semblance of a righteous life, but to consider that morality only to be of any value, which springs from motives conformable to Christianity, and from a heart sincere in the sight of God. Loud appeals are often made to the Reformation, as if a more Orthodox view of this doctrine were a chief instrument in accomplishing that great event. But it should be remembered that the mighty force of Luther's celebrated artillery was aimed against the vaunted merits of the saints, the efficacy of the mass, supererogatory works, &c. These were, indeed, battered down by

* Read particularly the whole conversation of Jesus on that occasion, in which he seems mainly anxious to convey the idea that there must be a *suffering*, not a conquering Messiah. John iii.

the dogma of justification by faith alone through the merits of Christ; but they would have been equally levelled by it, as authority from scripture, whether Luther had privately interpreted the expression itself after Augustin, or according to the more rational and critical sense. St Paul, in some of his expressions, seems to disparage the efficacy of moral obedience.* But the train of his argument renders it evident, that, in these cases, he refers to acts of moral obedience, simply as prescribed parts of the Mosaic *ritual* system.† Their *inherent* value and excellence, so far from denying, he repeatedly and strongly maintains.‡ He transfers their whole obligation to the christian system.§ He even maintains, that, in all descriptions of men, whether Jews or Gentiles, they are peculiarly acceptable before God. ||

Now in spite of the foregoing facts and distinctions, those Christians, who claim the exclusive title of evangelical, insist upon our receiving the doctrine of justification by faith alone, in the obvious, modern, independent sense of the words, as if Paul had originally uttered them but yesterday on the exchange, to an audience totally ignorant of the circumstances attending the transition of the Jewish religion to the Christian. We, therefore, whether we be right or wrong in our own views of this difficult and complicated question, object, in the outset, to such a demand, even as matter of pure biblical criticism. On further examining the proposition itself, thus proposed to us, our objections surely do not diminish, but rather multiply all around. For, first, it involves an inherent and fatal self-contradiction. The faith, through which justification is said alone to come, is an act of obedience; it is therefore a work, a deed, equally as much as to honor one's father and mother, which, of course, must be classed among dead works.—2. Whoever embraces the doctrine in question, is either involved in a perpetual struggle between the obvious phraseology of his creed and a satisfying interpretation of it, or, with more consistency and boldness, he flies for relief to Antinomianism. Well does Mr Wheaton know how widely both of these melancholy alternatives have spread among some of the most respectable portions of his mother church.—3. As if to tie up the subject still more

* Rom. iii. 20.

† Rom. iii. 1, 30.

‡ Rom. ii. 6, 8, 9, 15.

§ Rom. vi. & xii.

|| Rom. ii. 9, 10, 11.

completely in a knot of metaphysical difficulties, it is not faith, after all, which produces justification, but it is the imputed merits of Christ. None can acknowledge the exceeding perfections of Christ, or the saving tendencies of his religion, more cordially than we. But the idea that a man cannot be personally righteous, unless the righteousness of Christ be transferred or imputed to him, or placed to his account, so utterly confounds all sense of individual responsibility, and is so contradictory to the general tenor of scripture,* that we need not here enlarge upon it as a defective topic of christian instruction;—a task the less necessary, as we believe this doctrine has been for some time abandoned, in our own country, by the most prominent writers and preachers among the Orthodox.

Such, at length, are the principles, which Mr Wheaton and many other friends of Christianity think essential, not only to the prosperity of the Church of England, but of religion in general. That these principles are extremely popular among certain classes of people,—that, by the inculcation of them, languishing congregations have been revived, enlarged, and kept together for a time, is beyond dispute, but not beyond a rational explanation. Such facts are partly accounted for by the author of the volume before us, when engaged in a somewhat different train of speculation.

‘It is certain,’ he says, ‘that the preachers who are most followed by high and low, are as much distinguished by bold conceptions, strong language, and an animated elocution, as by any other quality; and if a portion of the members of the establishment are still wedded to the old, lecturing, moralizing style of pulpit instruction, it is, I will venture to say, a prejudice, arising perhaps from the extravagances which have prevailed among some of the dissenters. Human nature in England, and in America too, is the same that it is all the world over. It loves *to be strongly moved*,† whatever the subject may be; and when left to its own unbiassed decisions, will always prefer that style of pulpit address, which blends a good degree of earnestness, and feeling, and imagination, with the argumentative and didactic.’—p. 209.

Another cause of the extensive reception of our author’s cardinal doctrines, is, that they are constantly and confidently

* Job i. 1. Acts x. 2.

† Italicised by the author.

stated by their advocates to be an essential part of Christianity, and thus contract all the reverence which is due to a religion, which, for the sublimity of its *evident* truths, the excellence and necessity of its *plain* requisitions, the impressive character of its author, and the proofs of its divine origin, is calculated, more than any other object of contemplation, to attract and move the human mind. When, too, we find in these so highly praised articles of belief, a large infusion of mysticism, a something, which our reason and natural conscience in vain try to comprehend,—in short, a kind of consecrated enigma, we shall perceive why they are so acceptable and popular with persons of a particular taste. But what, as we think, in the greatest degree recommends them to so many of the truly excellent of the earth, but, at the same time, as we shall show in a moment, most certainly nullifies the doctrines themselves, is, their appeal to the humility of men. Our ears are stunned with praises of the humbling doctrines of the cross. The pride of human reason alone is said to reject them.* What then must have the merit of receiving them? One of the loveliest qualities of the mind—even a *moral virtue*! That there is humility enough in the world to receive the doctrine of total depravity, proves that the world is not totally depraved. Spiritual regeneration cannot certainly be supposed to regenerate the very quality by the only means of which it operates. Justification by faith *alone* must be preceded by a *moral* quality, without which that faith itself could not exist.

For all these reasons, we should antecedently pronounce the doctrines in question to be a mistaken and visionary appendage to Christianity. Should they ever be productive of good, we should pronounce that good to be incidental, and very capricious in its exhibitions. It would be the strength belonging to a fever;—it would never be the gentle and persuasive influence shadowed forth by the mustard-seed and leaven of the gospel parables. The healthy state of human nature is not the soil for such opinions as principles of practice. They must terminate, sooner or later, in the opposite extremes of fanaticism and indifference; and no social organization can be permanently char-

* How seldom is it remembered that speculative reason, or a perception and adoption of the connexion between premises and their consequences, is the humblest state of the mind! No slave follows the leading of his master more obsequiously. Can the same be said of the imagination, or of the mystic sense?

acterised by them. Experience and history at once illustrate and justify these conclusions. What but a catalogue of struggles and failures is the history of dogmas savoring of Calvinism? We speak not now of the positive and grievous evils they have produced in private relations. Let that invidious topic pass. But in what congregation have a majority of hearers had any sort of clear comprehension or interest about them? What national establishment has been able to endure them? Where, we had almost said, is the community, in which they have secured, from generation to generation, the reverence and support of the most learned, wise, and good? Ask Geneva, Germany, Scotland, English Presbyterianism, the Church of England, our own neighbourhood, and the process which is at this moment going on in all the churches of the land. The peculiarities of the system, when not disclaimed, are every day explained away, and the securest triumph which its advocates obtain, is when they show, as they are sometimes eager, and sometimes driven to do, that their inmost ideas, after all, approximate or correspond to the intelligible and enduring principles of Liberal Christianity.

Least of all should Mr Wheaton find matter of congratulation in the revival and prevalence of these opinions in his parent communion. When they before had the predominance there, they filled that church and nation with fanatics and infidels, and occasioned the most tremendous ecclesiastical explosion on record. As surely as they are again propagated there, with zeal and success, so surely will they do the same thing again. We dissent from the opinion expressed by our author, that the increase of religious feeling in England has been owing to these half emancipated dogmas of the Reformation. Flies on a revolving wheel raise not all the dust. Some more general cause, some extensive reaction from the coldness and deadness of the last century, has simultaneously visited both the Orthodox and Liberal of all denominations. We should ascribe it to a higher tone of education, and an elevation in the general mind, giving the soul a new consciousness of its worth, and a stronger leaning towards the heavenly themes of Christianity. We are confident, that if, instead of listening to interested and prejudiced witnesses, Mr Wheaton had taken the trouble to visit in person some of the Dissenting chapels, where 'another gospel' from Calvin's is preached, he would have found evidences of a better spirit than he supposed to exist among them. With regard to the

blessings of a liturgy, with a reference to which the passage before us concludes, must we again meet and refute the old presumptuous triumph? Is it worth while for any religious community to hold fast the profession of their faith, longer than it is fixed in their minds? Does a liturgy secure uniformity? The fact is, that, with or without a liturgy, mankind will separate into high and low church, evangelicals and nationals, literals and liberals; and the true question regarding the best interests of religion and the greatest happiness of men, is, simply, whether they shall so divide from each other, with the entangling, ensnaring, and provoking shackles of a creed upon them, or, in the enjoyment of that large and conciliatory freedom, bestowed originally by the Creator, and afterwards confirmed and sanctioned by the Saviour.*

By a singular coincidence, the author was furnished on one day with the materials for the following pair of portraits. The originals form a strong contrast, and have, though in different ways, and among different classes, produced no inconsiderable impression on our side of the Atlantic.

‘As the time for morning service approached, I strayed away in the direction of Paddington; till, passing along an obscure street, I suddenly came in front of Bentinck Chapel, which was open. Prayers were read by the Rev. Basil Woodd, minister of the Chapel, assisted by the Rev. Mr Wilks, the Editor of the Christian Observer, who officiates here as an assistant. A short and rather stout man, in the prime of life, and with a countenance singularly engaging and benevolent, then ascended the pulpit, and commenced a discourse on “holding fast the form of sound words,” in aid of a collection for the Prayer Book and Homily Society. It was delivered wholly extempore; but he had not proceeded far, before it was evident that he was a preacher of no common powers. I inquired his name from the person next to me; and was told that it was Leigh Richmond. As I was not aware of his being in London, it was a subject of agreeable surprise, that I had been thus accidentally directed to a

* On the liturgy of his church Mr Wheaton elsewhere thus remarks:—‘How difficult it is to read the Liturgy of the church *well*! To impart life and spirit to it, without flippancy—to observe the proper inflections without affectation—to give it variety without being declamatory, and pathos, without becoming monotonous!’ The same observation has often occurred to us; but we have been accustomed to rank it among the other objections, to which that composition, as a medium of popular worship, is exposed.

church, where I had an opportunity of hearing a man who has eminently benefited and delighted the Christian world by his writings. The language of the speaker, like that of his written style, flows on like the current of a gentle river, watering and fertilizing the region through which it flows. It is rarely elevated or impassioned, and never mean. If it is too equable and diffuse for the highest flights of eloquence, it is in an eminent degree persuasive, and commands a deep and breathless attention. On the conclusion of the service, Mr Wilks invited me into the vestry room, and introduced me to the preacher, and the minister of the chapel. I only regretted the shortness of the interview, which however left a pleasing impression on my mind of the gentleness and affability of his disposition. He seemed to be a little exhausted with the effort of preaching; and when he rose to cross the vestry room, I remarked that, like Israel, he "halted upon his thigh." The chapel was filled to overflowing by an audience, composed principally of mechanics and laborers, who gave a very solemn attention to the exercises of the morning.

'In the afternoon, I went to St Luke's Chapel, Waterloo Place, where I learned the Rev. Sidney Smith was to preach before the Society for the Promotion of Prison Discipline. Mr S. has been formerly known as one of the literary contributors to the Edinburgh Review; and is supposed still to write for it occasionally.

'His text, from the 102d Psalm, was dismissed as soon as read; and the discourse which followed was much in the style of an article in the Edinburgh or Quarterly, on prison Discipline. With all its looseness and negligence, it was often pithy and pointed; and commanded a good share of attention. This was in part to be attributed to a sonorous voice and a graceful and impressive action, as well as to the vivid and forcible thoughts which were occasionally produced. The chapel was well filled with the rich and gay, whose carriages were drawn up in long array in the street; for Waterloo Chapel is one of the places of worship at the court end of the town, to which it is *fashionable* to resort on Sundays. The building is a neat piece of Tuscan architecture, and elegantly furnished within. It has been erected about four years.'—pp. 241, 242.

Mr Wheaton has a keen eye for the inspection and description of busy life; but we have often observed him to throw at length some pensive, tender, and religious shade over his liveliest pictures. We subjoin an instance.

'Thursday, 20.—The long expected drawing-room has been actually held, and the bustle produced by this important event may not perhaps be unworthy of a description. Returning about one, from a walk to the eastern part of the town, I found Bond Street completely occupied by a line of carriages, extending as far as the eye could reach. The day happened to be remarkably fine, and the display of equipages was such as could not fail to gratify the most ardent admirers of style. The procession began at Cavendish Square, and extended along Henrietta, Vine, New Bond, Grafton, and Albemarle streets, into St James' street, and thence down to the palace—an unbroken length of at least a mile. The scene was amusing enough at the cross streets, where tributary streams of carriages were vainly struggling to force their way into the main current, which was setting on towards the abode of royalty. The coachmen in the principal line, aware that if an entrance were once effected, the whole string of equipages in that street would follow, to their own no small delay, kept as close to each other as possible, very much to the discomfiture of the laced footmen who stood behind, and the derangement of springs, panels, and ornamental work, by the pole of the succeeding carriage. Dire was the crashing, and lamentable the havoc among these, as often as the whole body made a *shove* towards St James', which happened whenever a fresh load of court dresses was discharged at the gate of the palace. Then, whips resounded, and coursers sprang, and the whole procession advanced just the length of a carriage and its horses, but with an impetus which caused a terrible smashing among the glittering vehicles. The concussion appeared to be the greatest at the junction of Grafton with New Bond street, where the narrowness of the passage was still further straitened by some unlucky coal waggons, which found it easier to get into the squeeze than to get out. Files of Lifeguardsmen were stationed along St James' street, and about the palace, to preserve order, and clear the streets of the populace, who were collected by thousands to enjoy the spectacle. After elbowing my way out of the crowd at the palace, where the throng of spectators was immense, I commenced a peregrination along the streets occupied by the procession; and as the glasses were generally down, I enjoyed an excellent opportunity of observing at my leisure the personages, great and small, who were hastening, or rather, sojourning, to pay their duty to England's Majesty. Here were gentlemen of the army, all radiant in scarlet and embroidery, and glittering with stars and badges of distinction—gentlemen of the law, in new gowns and full-bottomed wigs—bishops and deans, in full ecclesiastical costume—rich

citizens and gentry ; and strangers, whose narrow purses obliged them to avail themselves of the humbler accommodations of a hackney coach, and whose splendor was therefore far from being overpowering. Should any of the fair honor my humble journal with a perusal, they will no doubt desire to be informed how the ladies looked ; and I feel bound in honor to gratify their curiosity. Be it known, therefore, that with some half-a-dozen exceptions, the display of beauty was by no means such, as to indicate a remarkable superfluity of this commodity in fair England. Two or three, I thought, *were* eminently beautiful ; but in a variety of instances, the blending of the rose and the lily was too pure and dazzling, to win the unsuspecting confidence of the beholder. The prevailing dress was white satin, revealing quite as much of the person as was proper to be exposed ; and their hair was adorned simply with a plume of white feathers. Truth obliges me to record, that I saw many of them devouring biscuits and other contents of the confectioners' shops—a very plebeian occupation for such personages, and on such an occasion. But allowance must be made for the infirmities of nature, cooped up for hours without the power of locomotion. The carriages began to set down at one, and continued to roll on till five or six.—But it requires the pen of Master Laneham worthily to describe the particulars of this day's show. By eight, nothing remained of the pageantry save here and there a straggling coach moving homewards at a round trot. The military had dispersed—the music was silent—the crowd had disappeared—the gate of the palace was closed ; and the sentinels were set for the night. Thus, does the fashion of this world pass away.'—pp. 243–5.

Unless there may have been a great deal of mechanical drilling and some deceptive management behind the curtain, the following account of an examination of the Charter-House Boys, well deserves the attention of those who are interested in the improvement of American education.

' It was a noble spectacle to see between five and six hundred of them assembled in one apartment, to exhibit proofs of the progress they had made in their various studies. The exercises were conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury's chaplain and another clergyman, in the presence of a number of spectators. The eldest classes were examined in Sophocles, which they rendered into correct English with perfect fluency. The readiness with which they explained the sense of that difficult author, showed a proficiency in the language quite unknown in the schools, and even the colleges of America. In reading portions of the

New Testament in the original, they were not only required to attend to the nicest shades of meaning ; but to cite parallel passages, illustrative of those on which they were examined, and to give explanations, geographical, grammatical, doctrinal, and historical—all of which was done with admirable readiness and precision. Their recitations from Virgil exhibited, in a striking manner, the perfection of their training in the Latin tongue. One began, *without book*, reciting and construing from half a dozen to a dozen lines. He had no sooner completed the sentence than the examiner called upon another boy in the class, who immediately commenced reciting in the same way ; and so on, till each one had been examined in his turn. Notwithstanding they were suddenly called upon, and apparently without any order, there was no mistake, nor even the least hesitation, during the whole trial. The Bell system has been introduced here, it is said with the happiest effect. The ages of the boys seemed to be from eight to fifteen.'—pp. 237, 238.

On being introduced to Professor Buckland of Oxford, and gratified by hearing one of his lectures, our author expresses the highest opinion of the lecturer, but rather a poor one of the science of geology. 'It may,' he says, 'be pronounced a harmless pursuit, so long as the geologist is content to receive the Mosaic account of the creation, in preference to the uncertain register of that event, which he fancies he can read in the formation and position of the various strata.' Now it will not do to dismiss this matter so. It is true, there is much that is at present 'uncertain' about the science of geology, and many things a theorist in it 'fancies' with regard to its various phenomena. But that there are some conclusions, which irresistibly press upon every reflecting mind, from geological facts already known, cannot be denied. One of these conclusions is, the very great number of years, beyond all former calculation or imaginings, which must have elapsed since that series of changes commenced, whose records distinctly appear upon and beneath the present surface of the earth. Now, shall these appearances be made to bend to the received chronology of the bible, according to fallible theologians and ecclesiastical historians ; or shall some new and fair interpretation be adopted, which shall cause the voices of nature and of holy writ to harmonize ? For ourselves, unshackled by ecclesiastical formularies and institutions, we hesitate not a moment to decide. Our senses, our patient and humble observation of God's unquestionable doings around us, shall be, instead of Origen and Je-

rome, our interpreters of what Moses intended by the word *created*, and shall inform us whether his expression, *In the beginning*, referred to an assignable instant six thousand years ago, or to some indefinite period before the existing order of things. Thus, there is no necessity for exciting a glance of mutual jealousy between revelation and geology, or for paralysing the infant efforts of a sublime science by the threatened odium and thunders of the church, or by the extenuating sneer, that it may, conditionally, be a mere 'harmless pursuit.'

Searching for an extract, which might combine a specimen of the author's happiest manner with some subject of very general interest, we found none better suited to the purpose than this :

'Friday, June 4.—After dinner, I took the Bath road, intending to gain an eminence which appeared to overlook the city ; and to continue my walk to Cumnor Hall. The first mile and a half of the road lay over the plain, and crossed a number of streams tributary to the Isis. About two and a half miles from the town, I reached the top of a hill which I had marked from the dome of Radcliff Library ; and was repaid by a prospect, rich, extensive, and beautiful. The whole horizon to the northward, with the exception of a portion hidden by a small eminence, lay spread out before me. Very distant but gentle elevations, half lost in vapour, bounded the prospect ; while a vast circular plain, glittering here and there with the rays of a bright sun reflected from the rivers, and villages, and hamlets, and spires, and hedges endlessly ramified—lay spread out at my feet, as on a map. In the midst of this beautiful panorama, Oxford, with all its dun palaces, towers and pinnacles, lay basking in the levelled rays of the sun ; and from the position where I stood seemed to be blended into one mass, having the dark green, and occasional chalky spots, of Shotover hill, for its back ground. After regaling my sight awhile with the lovely landscape, and enjoying the cool breeze which swept over the hill, I pursued my walk ; and about a mile beyond, turned off the main road down a lane, which wound along between lofty hedges, and soon brought me to Cumnor—the scene of Leicester's loves, and of the mysterious crime into which he was plunged by his ambition. The narrow walk, which for some distance had led over level ground, descends a little as it approaches Cumnor—a hamlet, composed of a few small, straggling, thatched cottages, inhabited by poor tenants to Lord Abington, the proprietor of the village. The vicarage stands on the left, just at the brow of a small descent ; and a little farther on, and more remote from the road, are the ruins of Cumnor Hall, close

by the village church.—Having inquired out the sexton, the oracle usually consulted on such occasions, I entered his humble dwelling. “Are you the sexton, Sir?” “Why yes, Sir; I am *clerk* of the parish here”—placing a slight emphasis on the name which designated his vocation. His good woman was sipping her doctors’ stuff by the fire, and was growing rather tediously eloquent on the subject of her ailments, when the return of my guide in his Sunday’s coat, and the keys of the church, interrupted her catalogue of complaints. As we went towards the church, I inquired if the place had been much visited? “Why yes; for a spell, after a novel I heard talk of was printed a while ago, a wonderful sight of young folks used to ride out here and look about, particularly in the *vocation* at Oxford. But it didn’t last long.” On farther inquiry, I saw reason to congratulate myself on having a guide so well acquainted with the traditions and localities of the place, and gathered from him the following particulars. His ancestors had been tenants in the village for many generations; and he himself had spent the early part of his life in Cumnor Hall, which was pulled down about fifteen years since. The foundations are still remaining, and mark out the exact shape and dimensions of the Hall. It was a quadrangle, seventy or eighty feet square, entered by a gateway on the north side. The stair-case, in the adjoining corridor of which the tragedy is supposed to have been acted, was in the angle at the right of the entrance; and in the southwestern angle was, as my cicerone informed me, a richly carved room, which always went by the name of “Lady Dudley’s Chamber,” and which had the reputation of being haunted. None of the family would go into it after dark; but, said my honest informant, “I lived in the house a good many years, man and boy; and must say I never *seed* nor heard anything strange about it. The house looked like one of the colleges at Oxford, and had a wondrous sight of carved work in it, and painted glass in the windows, and was fit for a gentleman to live in; but it was thought to be haunted, and folks imagined they heard strange noises there; and latterly, nobody but farmers and such like lived in it.” As for Tony Fire-the-fagot, he was a real personage, whose memory is still execrated among the villagers, for his parsimony and acts of oppression, of which my guide recounted a few. The most conspicuous monument in the church is one in the chancel to the memory of this same Anthony Foster, with a brass plate bearing his effigies engraved upon it, along with those of his wife and three children. He is represented as a knight cased in armour, in a kneeling attitude, with his hands uplifted in prayer, his helmet being laid aside. A long and tedious eulogy is engraved beneath, setting forth in

Latin the rare virtues of his character and his exemplary piety. The instrument begins with the words ANTONIUS FOSTER; while that of his wife commences with ANNA ROMOLDA WILLIAMS. So much for this worthy gentleman, whom the author of *Kenilworth* has immortalized in his tale. The stained glass of the Hall has all been destroyed, with the exception of a small piece, which is inserted in a window of the church. It represents a female kneeling by the side of a chair, in the act of devotion.

'From the wall of the church-yard, the ground gradually slopes towards the west, and commands a most extensive view in that direction as well as to the south, over a gently undulating country. A little distance below the ruins, the surface again becomes level, and is adorned with hedges and ancient elms; but soon slopes off in a long and gradual descent, till it is lost in the immense plain which stretches to the farthest verge of the horizon. Here, then, was the beautiful Countess immured in splendid captivity, happily ignorant of the treacherous game her ambitious lord was playing, the stake of which was a participation of the throne with his imperial mistress. Here, too, if the surmises of historians can be relied on, she perished, at least with the connivance of the illustrious Leicester, her wedded husband. Sitting on the wall of the church-yard, as the bright sun was sinking into the west, and all around was tranquil, save the sky-larks which were pouring out their wild warblings; as I looked down on the ruins of Cumnor Hall, I could not help thinking over the circumstances of the tragedy, of which this spot had been the scene, and the story of which has been so affectingly narrated by the historical novelist. On a farther examination of the ruins, I found a deep arched vault beneath the corridor, which led to the fatal stair-case, now partly filled with rubbish. It was now nearly sunset, and I sat out on my return. On reaching the summit of the hill I have before described, I once more paused to enjoy the beautiful prospect it commands; and resuming my walk, arrived in the evening at my lodgings.'—pp. 262-5.

Let us contemplate a picture of the genuine and thorough-going disciples of verbal Orthodoxy.

'Passing one evening by the Huntington chapel, [in Bath] curiosity induced me to enter. A young man from London was exhorting the congregation, which scarcely amounted to thirty. It was gratifying to see that the Antinomian S. S. had so few followers in Bath. When the speaker had concluded his observations, he proposed, that "some of the brethren present should relate what God had done for their souls. Come, brother Fisher; can't you tell us something of your religious experience?"

Brother Fisher commenced a narrative, but in so low a tone that I was unable to hear him. A young man near me, being next called upon, got up; and after some apologies for opening his mouth in the presence of those, whose age and acquaintance with the Lord's dealings were so much greater than his own, gave a common-place relation of his experience, in which there was a great deal of cant, and very little which could edify. He concluded by desiring brother Miller, "one of the fathers in Christ, to offer something for the instruction of babes in christian experience, as he professed himself to be." Brother M. spoke with more ability than his predecessors; and amongst much which was objectionable, he had some strong thoughts, and made some striking, and not inappropriate allusions to scriptural incidents; but the tendency of each speaker to do away the moral obligations of the gospel was most observable. Their observations were all decidedly of an Antinomian cast, and were calculated to strengthen each other in that pernicious delusion. The burthen of their exhortations was,—“Am I in Christ? If so, then I am safe,” but a religious frame of mind, and holiness of life, were excluded as evidences of being in Christ, or even as necessary christian attainments. The preacher spoke of “the distress of some dear servants of God, because they were not holier or better. Why,” said he, “you have nothing to do with growing better—it will not help forward your salvation in the least. Paul said, ‘as ye have received the Lord Jesus, so walk in him;’ that is, as ye have received him as a suitable and all-sufficient Saviour, who is to do everything for you; continue to consider him in this light only; and *let holiness alone*. Rely on him—that’s all.”—Brother Miller said of *working*, “we have nothing to do with that, no more than this pew”—giving it at the same time an emphatic slap with his spacious palm. Here then was divinity with a vengeance. The disciple has only to persuade himself that he has *faith*, and he is at liberty to “work all manner of uncleanness with greediness.” Yet there were better things said in the course of the meeting; and I have no doubt, but that the lives of many of these Huntington Antinomians are more exemplary, than their speculative faith is calculated to make them.—I left the London exhorter commenting on Brother Miller’s “experience,” in a disquisition which seemed to have neither beginning, middle, nor end.’—pp. 292–4.

It is amusing to compare this sympathising tenderness towards the extravagances of Antinomians, with some severe remarks on a London preacher, whose discourse against total depravity, the author manifestly caricatures, and calls it ‘miserable stuff.’

But we love most our author's pencil out of doors. The mere study of Scott could never have inspired so delicious a sketch as the following :

'July 10th. I am now sitting on Prospect Point, the southwestern extremity of Lansdowne, and the most elevated ground within many miles of Bath. It is one of those glorious mornings which sometimes arise in such perfect beauty, as almost to make us forget that the repose of the elements can ever be disturbed. Low down in a valley to the southeast, and about four miles distant, the city appears, partially concealed by the projecting point of a hill, and arrayed in a transparent mantle of thin, blue smoke. Far beyond, and in the same direction, the Marlborough and Wiltshire Downs, and Salisbury Plain, stretch along the horizon, with a slightly irregular outline, till they terminate in an abrupt declivity at Stour Head; on the brow of which, Alfred's tower is distinctly visible, twentyfive miles distant, and in a direction due south. Here commence the Mendip Hills, less elevated than the former; and these, with other highlands, complete the boundary as far westward as the British Channel.—In the valley at my feet, to the southwest and west, the beautiful Avon winds along in graceful sinuosities, through a velvet margin of meadows, across which the shadows flit before a strong breeze from the ocean. Hamlets, towers, and village churches—the stately mansions of the rich, and the lowly cottages of the poor—clumps of trees, green hedges and lawns, are sprinkled all over the landscape, as if rained down from the clouds, and lie spread out beneath as on a map. Over all these, the sun sheds at times a glorious flood of light—the harvest, just beginning to look golden, waves gracefully before the wind—the larks are twittering over my head—a thrush is warbling his wild notes in yonder brake—sheep in countless myriads are grazing on the downs around me, the tinkling music of their bells relieving the solitude; and “the soft music of the village bells,” stealing up the valley on the breeze, “falls at intervals upon the ear, in cadence sweet.” A scene so rich, so peaceful, so inspiring as this, is not often to be met with even in this beautiful island, and seems to breathe new life and healthfulness into the soul.’—pp. 299, 300.

Did Mr Wheaton's note of admiration at the close of the following sentence mean to imply something ominous in the fact recorded? We are in the Abbey Church at Bath. ‘Statues of the three persons in the Trinity once occupied a beautiful niche in the centre of the battlements, and appeared to be receiving the homage of the group of the angels below; but of these, only the middle one is remaining!’

Walking with a friend one morning in the vicinity of Bath, he came to an elegant mansion nearly finished. 'The owner,' he observes, 'had the bad taste to pull down a beautiful picturesque structure, farther down the valley, to make room for the erection of a formal three story building.' Bad taste is very much a thing of association. We rather sympathise with the owner of the three story building. We have heard bitter complaints of the coldness and leakiness of picturesque mansions with their many angled roofs, and of the inhospitality of stowing away a friend in some small and crooked apartment. The wisdom of modern times, in consulting utility, the greatest good of the greatest number, appeals to the most permanent ideas of beauty.

The religious world will be gratified by the following favorable report respecting the sabbath in London, although a few may be perplexed to reconcile it with a fact mentioned elsewhere by Mr Wheaton,* that there is scarcely more than one Calvinistic preacher of the establishment in that metropolis.

'I am still struck with the silence and good order of the streets of the metropolis on Sunday. It indicates a healthful feeling among the mass of the people in regard to sacred things; for the decorum is such as could not be enforced merely by a police. It is true there is a good deal of promenading in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon; but the same decorum is observable there, which is visible in the throngs that are seen moving to or from the house of God. It argues well of the moral state of the population at large, when those who are disposed to violate the sanctity of the Lord's day, are obliged, by public opinion, to conceal their irregularities from observation. Judging by what meets the eye, the day of rest is not better observed in the cities of New-England than in the city of London. The people here are evidently a church-going people; and there is a propriety and decency in their behaviour in the sanctuary, which cannot fail to make a favorable impression, and which, so far as my observation has extended, is universal. It is in vain to say, that this may be all formality—that this decent exterior may be maintained, without supposing any very deep or universal spirit of piety. It may be true in individual cases; but cannot be true of any community in the mass. Nothing but a general and heart-felt sense of religion can long support a reverent attention to the externals of public worship, such as evidently exists in this vast metropolis, and everywhere meets the observation of a stranger.'—pp. 320, 321.

* See p. 41.

Our author passes into France, and his book immediately changes its character. He now gives us only descriptions of what has often been described before, intermixed with some personal adventures of no extraordinary kind. Either the language of the country, or a want of proper facilities, debarred him from that familiar intercourse with general and private society, which enabled him in England so often to gratify our curiosity.

Returning to the latter country, and pursuing his way into Scotland, he stops to pass a night and day with the Rev. G. S. Faber, of prophetic notoriety, but whether 'advantageously known among American divines,' or not, perhaps our author and we have two opinions. 'During the evening, Mr F. received a note from Lord L——, announcing the intention of himself and lady to attend church the next day; but on Sunday morning, the arrival of another message indicated a change of intention, in consequence of the indisposition of Lady L——. It was easy to see that so much parade and formality, in discharging a duty alike incumbent on the high and the low, were by no means agreeable to the honest, manly feelings of the Rector.' The blessings of patronage and an establishment! No President of the United States would venture to send so insolent a communication to the humblest minister in the country—and if he did, we have no hesitation in saying, that an immediate and dignified reproof would prevent a repetition of the offence.

Of the clergy of the Kirk of Scotland, Mr Wheaton observes, that those with whom he became acquainted in Edinburgh, were all men of agreeable and polished manners. 'Indeed,' he continues, 'it is understood that the theology of the Kirk has insensibly undergone a change within the last half century; a milder and more benevolent tone of doctrine having taken the place of the stern metaphysics of Geneva—the strong meat in which the members of the Kirk once delighted. Admitting such a change to have taken place, it could scarcely be without its effect on the manners of the clergy.'

We can only account for remarks like these, by supposing that our author had grown more liberal in the course of his travels. What sterner metaphysics ever scowled in Geneva, or what stronger meat was ever digested by the ancient Cameronians, than our author's views of the depravity of man's nature, the necessity of a new birth, and justification by faith alone? If these

doctrines were essential to the revival of primitive piety and pure manners in England, we know not how it is that, in Scotland, we see good arising from more mild and benevolent opinions. Will it be said, that other doctrines, such as election and perseverance, are referred to as particularly stern and strong, while total depravity and so forth, are the milder, the more benevolent, and the more conducive to polished manners? Give us new light and new powers to see how these things are!

But we fear we have augured too favorably from the last quoted passage. A different spirit appears over the leaf.

'I went to Saint Paul's, in the hope of hearing the celebrated Mr Alison. In this I was disappointed. His pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Mr S——, of Upper Canada, who seemed to have prepared a discourse for the occasion, in Mr Alison's own style. His text—"Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am"—might have given occasion, one would suppose, to introduce some useful reflections on the mischiefs of parental partiality, and the turpitude of falsehood. No such thing. The sermon was a tissue of sentimentalism and affectation, abounding in pretty conceits, but wholly without point. Mr Alison was present—a good-looking, portly personage, with a head venerably grey. Although in connexion with the Scottish Episcopal Church, he is considered by his clerical brethren as falling far short of the doctrinal standards of the church in which he holds a place. His sermons, like Dr Blair's, have had their day, and no longer retain a place on the shelves of Christian Theology.'—p. 438.

Mr Alison's sermons are not, indeed, models of theological disquisitions; but, on the other hand, they are certainly far from being, as is here intimated, tissues of sentimentalism and affectation. And who, that is free from the disease of bigotry, will concur in the condemnation pronounced on the chaste, the thoughtful, the judicious Blair? We loathe these sweeping little sentences against eminent writers, which cost whole paragraphs of fact and criticism to rebut. We are aware, that, in this inquiring and excitement-loving age, that once popular author has fallen somewhat into the back-ground, and that it is fashionable, in more than one circle of religionists, to speak of his alleged poverty and vacancy. Still he has too many substantial excellences, ever to lose a place on the shelves of christian theology, and will not soon be forgotten by the grateful votaries of a modest faith. A book may still remain a classic,

although it has ceased to be the rage. In a crisis, marked by the dangerous extremes of enthusiasm and indifference, it was the enviable merit of Blair to keep the pure flame of the altar from internally wasting away, or yielding to the violence of too strong a blast. He brought religion into the parlour, and into the recesses of taste and refinement, when it might otherwise have been monopolized by the clamorous tabernacle, or have slept in the old tomes of elaborate divinity. He invested the spirit of piety and practical Christianity in attractive forms, and set the worthy example of composing sermons, distinguished by the blended qualities of an easy, graceful, popular style, a perspicuous and scientific method, a quick but chastened imagination, and an abundance of apt scriptural allusion and quotation, undisfigured by a particle of mysticism or cant. The example has since been followed with great good effect, and has even been improved upon, we allow, by the infusion of more spirituality and fire. But if the volumes of Blair have had their day, it was not an idle or unprofitable day. Their unrivalled popularity, not built, like that of some of their successors, on a glaring and eccentric style, but on permanent principles of truth and nature, was also, in a religious point of view, an encouraging sign of the times. They were among other instruments, which at once called forth, and demonstrated a tone of piety in the higher classes. Nor can they ever be perused without imparting large and correct apprehensions of life and duty throughout their wider extended relations, and fanning in susceptible minds the enthusiasm of christian virtue. *Such* a day they will enjoy, through many changes of doctrine and taste, so long as the English language and the human heart remain the same.

On quitting England, the author renders a summary testimony of the impressions he has received from his visit. He had before done the same on taking leave of London; and we choose to extract his reflections written on the last mentioned occasion, rather than on the other, in consequence of their presenting nearly the same ideas, in a more condensed compass.

‘It is not without some feelings of regret that I anticipate leaving a place, where I have spent so many months in frequent and agreeable intercourse with a social circle, of which I shall always cherish a pleasing recollection. During my sojourn in the metropolis, I have seen a great deal that is estimable, and some things less deserving of commendation. I have learned

to believe that excellence is not peculiar to any one country ; and that civil and religious institutions, which would be ill suited to the state of society on the western side of the Atlantic, are far from being attended here with all the inconveniences, which theoretical politicians are fond of attributing to them. If England is old, it cannot be denied that her old age is green, healthy, and vigorous ; her piety is as fresh and strong as ever, and even more so. From the extensive opportunities I have enjoyed of forming an opinion of the state of religion in her establishment, I am satisfied that, generally speaking, the principles of the reformed religion are taught in faithfulness and purity, and with a commanding influence on society ; and that the number of *evangelical* preachers, in the best sense of the word, is yearly increasing. Of the warm, open, friendly hospitality of the English people, I have had too many proofs, to feel any reluctance in bearing a favorable testimony on this point ; and can say with truth, that, one single instance excepted, I never met with an expression of any feelings but those of kindness and amity, towards the people of the United States. I am convinced that nothing is more fallacious, than to measure everything abroad by our own standards at home. The great mass of people in America are as thoroughly disqualified, by the prejudices of their education and their early associations, to form a correct judgment of the political and religious institutions of Great Britain, and their adaptation to the state of society here, as the bulk of the English people are to judge aright of our republican institutions, and their suitableness to *our* state of society. I shall give no credit hereafter to the reports of travellers, who affect to see nothing but corruption and licentiousness among the high and low ; tyranny and misrule in the government ; fat benefices and contented idleness among the clergy, and wretchedness among the peasantry. That abuses of this description do exist, there can be no question—what country is without them ? But that they stand out among the prominent features of English manners and English society, no candid and well-informed man will deliberately assert.’—pp. 398, 399.

Mr Wheaton may feel surprised to see so formal an article bestowed by us on his unpretending claims. But as the greater portion of his book resembles a Sunday evening’s gossip, so, like that, it has betrayed us unawares into some serious and earnest discussion. It is not lately that so fair an opportunity has presented itself, for a direct exposition of the religious principles which we value, and which we are willing should be as often and fully as possible before the public. Perhaps our

habits and functions as christian examiners and ready advocates of Unitarianism, have interested us so much in the theological parts of this work, that we have failed in doing complete justice to the rest. Before concluding, therefore, we would be careful to say, that we remember no traveller, who, with the leading exception on which we have already dwelt, exhibits greater fairness of mind than Mr Wheaton, or more clearness and purity of style, or neater criticisms on the fine arts, particularly architecture, or a more judicious choice of topics, or such liveliness of description, setting the reader down at once amidst the scenes portrayed—or such natural and heartfelt expressions of piety, mingled often with touches of a delicate pathos. Whoever has occasion to fill a day or two with good light reading, may not be better entertained than by our author's record of the conversation and anecdotes at the table of Chief Justice Park; his interview with Cunningham, of Velvet Cushion fame; his visits to Cambridge and Oxford, and particularly his accounts of several of the Professors and Lectures, not forgetting the 'Union Society;' his interview with Campbell, the South African missionary; his attendance at the meetings of various religious societies, with descriptions of the speakers and speeches; the sojourn at Aldenham Abbey; the peep at the breakfast (or luncheon?) of all England's judges; the conversation at Mr Wilberforce's; * the criticisms on several orators in both Houses of Parliament, especially the debate in the House of Lords on the Unitarian Marriage Bill, which, we rejoice to acknowledge, is here reported with a laudable impartiality; the Royal Society; Mackintosh; Davy; visit to Bath; the covetable day at Miss Hannah More's Barley Wood; Cemetery of *Père La Chaise*; York Cathedral; Edinburgh; the Highlands, with the Lady of the Lake in hand; the voyage home, surpassed by few other voyages, in hair-breadth escapes and moving accidents; not to speak of many less considerable scenes and adventures. All this is shaded, as we can perceive, by no faults of composition worth mentioning, unless we may except the constant changes rung on the pertinacious demands of waiters, and the exorbitant charges of landlords. The reader is sometimes balanced between pity for

* The broad compliment to the beauty of the lady, transgresses, we fear, the limits of our canons; but we leave the author to settle this point elsewhere.

the distresses, and a smile at the *naïveté* manifested on this subject by the traveller. Nor can we comprehend his apparent soreness about it, except on the supposition which makes it honorable to him, and which we believe to be well-founded, that he was travelling for the benefit and at the expense of an infant literary institution at home. However that may be, we take the liberty of advising him to expunge from his next edition all or most of his complaints on this point, and to be satisfied with his excellent reflections relating to it at the conclusion of the twenty-sixth chapter.

We shall not quarrel with several minor opinions and prejudices, on which we are at variance with the author, such as that justice is more respected for being administered in a gown, bands and wig, than in an ordinary dress;—that the *Christian Observer* is the most popular and useful religious publication in the world, and the almost actionable assertion, that Mr Brougham is totally unprincipled, which we no more believe than we do the kindred doctrine of total depravity, and which Mr Wheaton would probably never have believed himself, had not his intercourse lain chiefly among the offended subjects of Mr Brougham's parliamentary visitations. Such notions as the above, we suppose, are but idols of the cave in which the author's mental habits have been trained, and if false, can be corrected only by more extended views of men and things.

In his travels from Paris to London, Mr Wheaton fell in with a gentleman, whom, in a style of courtesy not universal among Episcopalians, he denominates an English Unitarian *clergyman*; and again, his 'clerical companion.' This language, connected with the mutual interest they seemed to take in the objects of curiosity along their route, would imply, that their intercourse with each other was maintained on quite friendly terms. Doubtless they beguiled the tedium of some of their long stages by discussions, involving the very points on which we have in this article been frankly expressing our sentiments. And though we may have defended the tenets of Liberal Christianity much less successfully than our brother of the parent-country, yet we will not yield to him in the cordiality and good humor, with which we bid adieu to our pleasant fellow traveller, notwithstanding the sharp controversies that have stirred us on the way.

ART. IV.—*An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Unitarian Doctrine, in the Societies at Rochdale, Newchurch in Rossendale, and other Places, formerly in Connexion with the late Rev. Joseph Cooke. In Ten Letters to a Friend.* By JOHN ASHWORTH. Second Edition. Newchurch, 1829. 8vo. pp. 80.

WE rarely meet with a publication so interesting as this. It contains the history of the process by which a numerous body of Methodists in the North of England passed from the faith and discipline of John Wesley to the simple doctrines of Unitarian belief. It is a memorable and instructive example of simple, uneducated men, being led by the study of the English bible alone, without any help from abroad, and without knowing that there was such a thing as Unitarianism in the world, to the adoption of those views which we hold as the actual truth of Christ. It shows the power of truth to make its way into minds which honorably open themselves to it, in spite of the hindrances of an imperfect text and faulty translation. It affords singular encouragement to the friends of free inquiry and liberal doctrine. And we do not know that our pages could be better occupied, than in spreading the information respecting this humble body of brethren, and asking for them the sympathy of the christian community on this side the water.

It is the design of the book before us, as stated in the first letter, to give 'a detailed account of the rise and progress of this inquiry after truth, with the manner and order in which the several doctrines of reputed orthodoxy came to be questioned by them, the arguments and trains of thought which induced them successively to reject them.' In this detail it will be impossible for us to follow the author. Those who would enter on so curious a study, must consult the publication itself. We can only give an outline.

The history begins with the preaching of the Rev. Joseph Cooke, a highly gifted minister in the Methodist connexion. No small part of its interest lies in his life and character. He became a travelling preacher at the age of nineteen or twenty, and was soon one of the most popular in the body. 'Perhaps,' says the writer, 'there never was a preacher in this country so universally admired and beloved as he was whilst in the Meth-

odist connexion. His abilities for preaching and ministerial usefulness, were not of the common kind ; and he had almost always the pleasure and honor of addressing uncommonly large congregations.'

Mr Cooke's estrangement from this denomination was the first step in this remarkable history, and requires, therefore, to be distinctly related. He had observed, in the course of his travels, that the manner in which the doctrines of justification by faith, and the witness of the Spirit were taught, led to injurious consequences. He found some, 'who talked as though they thought religion consisted principally in raptures and impressions, and who made their own imaginations and feelings rather than the word of God, the criterion of religious truths ; while others, because they could not attain to these raptures, were driven to dejection and despondency.' Being desirous to remedy these evils, he preached a sermon on each of the abovementioned doctrines, in which he attempted so to state them as to avoid the consequences he disapproved, but, as far as appears, without intending to contradict the teaching of Wesley on these points. These explanations, however, gave dissatisfaction, and caused his expulsion from the connexion in August, 1806. He gives some account of this affair, in the following passage.

'As several of the preachers (for reasons best known to themselves) heartily deprecated any debate in the Conference upon their system of doctrines, a committee was appointed, to converse with me on the subject. I met the committee in the evening ; and there I learnt, that one point in which I was supposed to have erred, was, as to the *time*, and *evidence* of a man's justification, or, *when* a man may be said to be justified. I was supposed to have taught, that in whatever moment a sinner returns to God, according to the requisitions of the gospel, God accepts that sinner, or his wrath no longer abides upon him ; or in other words, that the sinner is justified : and that, whether he has any comfortable persuasion of it in his own mind or not.— I acknowledged the truth of this supposition, and declared my present belief of what I had so taught. This was reported to the Conference the next morning, when I confirmed the truth of the report, and declared my readiness to prove what I had taught from the writings of Messrs Wesley and Fletcher. It was then moved, that if I thought myself able to do that, I ought to be heard. But this motion was over-ruled by the President observing, "I might be able perhaps to quote a few insu-

lated passages." This prevented any appeal or discussion from taking place. And nothing now remained, but to pass sentence upon me. It was however moved, that my sentence should be deferred another day, that I (not the Conference) might farther consider the subject. To this I replied, that if the Conference were resolved to condemn my sermons, I had no reason to think that another day, or week, would make any change in my opinions, and therefore desired that the matter might be brought to a conclusion. I was then desired to withdraw, while the Conference deliberated upon the subject. And on being recalled, I was informed, that "I could not be considered a member of that body, while I retained my present sentiments."—pp. 8, 9.

This event, of course, produced no small excitement amongst those who knew and loved the expelled minister. In Rossendale, the first impressions were wholly adverse to his cause. Almost all the Methodists were dissatisfied with the doctrine which he advanced. But they could assign no reason for their dissatisfaction, as we learn from our author who was one of them, except the very common one, by which incipient inquiry is so often stifled, and the door shut in the face of truth;—"that it was new to them, and what they had not been accustomed to hear from their preachers, and therefore must be wrong." One of them, however, undertook to converse on the subject with Mr Cooke, and was thence induced to resolve, 'that he would find out, if possible, which of the two, the Methodists or Mr C., was right.'

'For this purpose he got Mr Wesley's Sermons, the Minutes of the Conference, and the writings of Mr Fletcher. These he examined with attention, and soon found that they were inconsistent with themselves, and both agreed, and disagreed, with what Mr Cooke had taught, and for which he was expelled. This he showed to a few friends, who were all eager to know the truth respecting these things. They, therefore, joined their efforts together, in examining these writings again, on the subject in dispute. In one place they found Mr Wesley asking, "Is justifying faith a sense of pardon?" And answering, "It is denied." This they conceived agreed with Mr Cooke. In another place, "Is justifying faith a divine assurance, that Christ loved me and gave himself for me?" The answer to this is, "We believe it is." This was opposed to what Mr Cooke taught. But then it was also opposed to what Mr Wesley had said. Still perplexed

to find out on which side truth lay, but still searching for it, they were unexpectedly relieved by Mr Wesley himself, who says, "The assertion that justifying faith is a sense of pardon, is contrary to reason: it is flatly absurd. For how can a sense of our having received pardon, be the condition of our receiving it?" This inquiry carrying with it its own evidence, convinced them that Mr Cooke was right on this point at least, and that the Conference had expelled him for not teaching a doctrine which Mr Wesley deemed "flatly absurd."—p. 11.

One of these inquirers, the author of this book, was, at that time, a local preacher among them. On publishing the result of their investigations, he and they were subjected to so much opposition and obloquy, that they withdrew from the body to which they belonged, and formed an independent society in Newchurch. Their number was small, their circumstances mean, most of them were parents of large families, and all of them, to a man, had to get their bread by hard labor; and at this particular time, not only were provisions dear, but work was difficult to be procured. They had the courage, however, to go on and build a chapel. After this was opened, their numbers increased; 'and being no longer bound by systems and creeds of men's making, they began to taste and relish the pleasures of that liberty, wherewith Christ has made us free.'

In the mean time, Mr Cooke had been settled with another congregation of seceders at Rochdale.

'The Conference being apprehensive that he might make a division there, sent after him three preachers, who had labored in Rochdale, and who were thought to be the favorites of the people there, to prevent if possible any division being made. One of these preachers, however, I conceive must have been sufficiently mortified, who, prolonging his Sermon, with the view (as his hearers thought) of preventing their hearing Mr Cooke, saw the greater part of his congregation leave him, to finish his long Sermon to the few that were left. Mr Cooke was received by his friends in Rochdale with the greatest cordiality. A large number of them left the Methodist connexion, many of them being in respectable circumstances. A subscription was immediately raised, and a large commodious chapel built, to which the name *Providence*, was given; and while this was doing he had the pleasure of addressing uncommonly large and crowded congregations. Hundreds flocking to see and hear this man, of whom re-

port said that he preached such strange things that the Methodists would have him no longer among them, and that since they had turned him out he had laid aside the Bible, and put common sense in its place. Among these there were some who had seldom attended any place of worship, and who had been champions in vice, who were now reclaimed, and are at this day pious and intelligent Unitarians.'—p. 10.

Thus, there were formed two congregations of those who adopted Mr Cooke's views of justification and the witness of the Spirit. Their departure from the regular doctrine of Methodism was but small; 'yet even this small difference was called a damnable doctrine, which would assuredly lead all who embraced it to hell.' There was as yet no perceptible approach toward Unitarianism, nor any very considerable removal from Orthodoxy. Perhaps, if these earnest inquirers had conjectured to what their free honesty would lead them; if they had had by them, some of the solemn Mentors of our time to watch over, forewarn, and alarm them; they might have closed their eyes on further light, and, like thousands of others, remained stationary all their days. But, happily, they thought only of seeking the truth; and they felt the duty and responsibility of seeking it without being deterred by dread of the result. They were thus led on, step by step, cautiously, gradually, and slowly; and only after many years of patient and toilsome investigation, did they arrive at those rich and ripe results, in which they now, with so much simplicity and strength of expression, rejoice.

These societies, having broken free from all trammels of human institutions and articles, became, as it were, associations for religious inquiry after truth. Their minds continued to be exercised on the subject of the witness of the Spirit, one of the points which had led to the schism, and they naturally connected with it the question of divine influence. Upon searching into this, they found, that, while they had always denied the Calvinistic opinion on this head, their own views had been altogether vague; 'they had been accustomed to make use of the phrase, but had formed no clear and distinct conception of its meaning. It now appeared to them, that as the *witness* of the Spirit consists in what the spirit declares, testifies, and affirms, concerning anything, so the *influence* of the Spirit (that influence which is necessary to convert a sinner from the error of his way) on the mind of a rational creature, can consistently imply no more, nor reasonably imply

less, than teaching man what he ought to do, and making known to him those inducements which are calculated to lead him to practise what he has been taught.'

In this connexion they were immediately led, in the next place, to assign a different meaning to their former favorite expressions, when they spoke of faith and repentance as the gifts of God. The arbitrary ideas which they had affixed to this language, they now perceived, as they thought, to lead to consequences scarcely less dreadful than the doctrine of reprobation; and they learned to discern that it is 'the privilege, the opportunity, the power or ability,' which is the gift of God, while the consequent act is the man's own voluntary deed. It is the power to believe and repent, which is given, not the act of faith and repentance.

Their attention was next turned to the doctrine of sanctification, as connected with Wesley's teaching on the subject of perfection. Here, too, they found themselves obliged to abandon the ground they had formerly held; and in doing this, they unavoidably entangled themselves in the deep questions respecting the origin and nature of sin. Here they were long delayed, fighting manfully for their old dogma of original sin, and long resolved not to relinquish it, although they felt that the conclusions at which they had just arrived respecting sanctification, 'struck directly at its root.' But they had considered it one of 'the fundamentals of Christianity;' and 'would not have relinquished it, had it not been on account of the insuperable difficulties and irreconcilable contradictions in which it involved them.' Of the process of thought and inquiry by which they were led to abandon it, we have not room for even a sketch. It occupies seventeen pages of the letters before us.

If they gave up this doctrine with reluctance, they seem to have clung with still more tenacious obstinacy to the popular doctrine of the atonement, to the examination of which they were next led.

'Till within two or three years of this time, we had been connected with a body of Christians, whose manner of teaching the doctrine of the Atonement differs very little from that in which the followers of John Calvin teach it; except that they possess the liberal-heartedness of saying, that Jesus Christ suffered in the room and stead of *all*, while the followers of Calvin say that he did this only for *a part*. Amongst these Christians, we had been accustomed to hear language like the following; namely,

“that Jesus Christ suffered in the room and stead of all sinners—that he suffered the punishment due to sinners—that by thus suffering he fulfilled the law for sinners, and made a satisfaction to injured justice for them—that he alone has paid the debt we to the Father owed—that he has reconciled God to the world.” And you may now see language in print, equivalent to what I have often heard less elegantly expressed in the pulpit, that Jesus Christ “comprised, in his own personal life and death, those sufferings which it would otherwise have taken the millions of the human race an eternity to endure.” Though we had now some doubts respecting the truth of the popular doctrine of atonement, yet we were very desirous of finding the above expressions, by which it is generally described, in the scriptures. For this purpose, we searched both the Old and New Testaments. But it is impossible to give you an idea of the painful disappointment we experienced, when, after the most careful perusal, we could find *no such* language there. And here my feelings induce me to say, that I cannot help thinking it a most unreasonable thing, that we should be looked upon by our christian neighbours, as though we had been guilty of some capital crime against religion, merely because we have not been able to discover in the scriptures what is not there to be found. Most dreadfully were we afraid of getting wrong, or of being called heretics; and we did all in our power, as honest men, to prevent it. But what am I saying? Why, my real meaning is, we did all in our power, as honest men, to prevent ourselves from getting at truth. We were dreadfully afraid of this, because we knew that we should be looked upon by our christian neighbours, as though we had been guilty of some capital offence against religion, and that they would call us heretics. There is an old adage amongst us, which says, that “custom makes things more easy;” and it is a very true one. We have now been so long accustomed to odious names, that the dread of them is worn off from our minds; nor shall we wonder if, in a few years, they become as fashionable, and then as respectable, as that of Orthodoxy.’ —pp. 36, 37.

The reasons, adds our author, which at first induced them to doubt the truth of this doctrine, arose from the difficulties that lay in the way of proving it. These difficulties they found it impossible to remove, and were therefore obliged to surrender the doctrine.

Thus had they proceeded for three years in searching the scriptures and investigating christian truth. And the result of their slow and cautious and laborious movement, had been a change of opinion respecting the evidences of the christian

character, the origin of faith and repentance, divine influences, original sin, and the atonement. Step by step, they had advanced thus far, and as yet had neither questioned nor suspected the doctrine of the trinity. That great and fundamental dogma remained as yet a sacred and unquestioned verity in their minds. But their investigation into the popular notions respecting the atonement, leading them, as it did, to inquire into the connexion between the Father and the Son, to define their offices and mutual relations, and adjust their several claims, unavoidably opened their eyes to the difficulties by which the common opinion is encumbered, and suggested queries and doubts. Just at this point of their progress, Mr Cooke died, and they felt severely the want of his clear and sagacious mind in aiding their further inquiries. 'They regretted that they had not talked with him particularly about it;' but in accordance with his counsel and example they went on, appealing to the Bible, and comparing scripture with scripture, until they were satisfied that that holy book knows nothing of a trinity in unity, but declares in the most decided terms the strict oneness of the Divine Being. Here the work of their doctrinal reform seems to have been completed; and for about twenty years they have rested in it, rejoicing in the light to which they had been led, and dwelling together in peace and edification; sharing, of course, in the universal obloquy and unsparing denunciation with which the other sects combine to visit this unfortunate heresy, but consoled by the testimony of their consciences, and happy in the enjoyment of a heavenly hope.

Such is the history of not a small body of believers, men in the humble walks of life, and without the advantages of education, who, with no book but the English translation of the Bible, studied their way, step by step, to the Unitarian faith; and not only so, but held that faith firmly at a time when they supposed themselves to be its only recipients in the world, and knew not that there existed such a body as that of the Unitarians. To our view, there is in this simple fact an affecting and delightful testimony to the scriptural truth of the system. These sincere and single-hearted seekers found it, in spite of the hindrances of education and habit, in spite of the darkness thrown upon the sacred volume by a corrupted text and an imperfect version, in spite of the outcries and opposition of denunciatory sects, and the lamentations and enmity of former friends. Everything against them but God and truth, they sought, and

found. Their story is a memorable and glorious encouragement to the simple minded and true hearted everywhere. Their success makes us ashamed of our hesitancy and weakness of faith, in the trials and oppositions to which the good cause is exposed. We blush for ourselves, that we can ever for a moment doubt or despond. We blush for our brethren, that there is amongst them no more enterprise, trust, and devotion. We look at these devoted, persevering men, scattered in the humbler and darker regions of life; we see what they ventured to do, and how signally God rewarded them; and when we turn back to ourselves, we are constrained to cry out, in words that have been used elsewhere—‘Shame on our sloth! Shame on our unbelief!’

We should do wrong to close this part of our subject in any other language than that which Mr Ashton himself uses, in concluding his last letter. Nothing can be more to the purpose, or better said.

‘Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to give you an account of the rise and progress of our inquiry after truth; with the manner and order in which the doctrines of reputed Orthodoxy came to be questioned by us, and the arguments and trains of thought which induced us successively to reject them. In doing this, we have been repeatedly accused of throwing away the Bible, and of having gotten a new Bible. But the real fact is, it was from the Bible, but particularly from the common version of the New Testament, that we learned what we now believe. Such was our ignorance of men and books, that taught what we now believe, that at the time we were relinquishing the doctrines of reputed Orthodoxy, we supposed ourselves to be the only people in the world who believed in this way; and, like Ishmael in this respect, to have our hand against every man, and every man’s hand against us. The painful sensations which we felt on this account are indescribable, and at times made us wish that we could see as our christian neighbours did. But the plain simple scriptural truths which we had embraced were powerful; and we durst not, even to avoid persecution, ignominy, and pain, deny what appeared to us to be God’s truth, and violate our consciences; and whatever men may think or say of us, we could appeal to God the searcher of hearts, that in these things we had been acting to the best of our judgment; and it was no small consolation to us that we had the testimony of a good conscience. Besides, in these days of persecution and distress, we met often one with another, and made known our requests to God by prayer

and supplication with thanksgiving; and the peace of God passing understanding kept our hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.

‘But very soon after this, we heard of many churches where the same doctrines were taught which we had embraced; but like us, they were everywhere spoken against. With some of the members of these churches we soon became acquainted. At this time, in consequence of our ministers being invited to preach a few times at Elland, they had the happiness of becoming personally acquainted with you, by whom our condition was made known to the Unitarian public; who have given us a convincing and an affectionate proof of their regard towards us, by charitably contributing to the liquidation of more than three-fourths of the debt upon our chapel; and to them and to you do we feel unfeignedly thankful for the favors already bestowed upon us.’—pp. 68, 69.

We have already said, that no small part of the interest of this pamphlet is derived from the personal history of Mr Cooke. He led the way in reform, and during his brief ministry was indefatigable in his labors to extend a cause which he illustrated by a bright example in life and in death.

‘In the autumn of 1809, Mr Cooke was seized with that affliction which in March, 1811, terminated his useful life. It is probable, that his illness was partly, if not wholly, occasioned by excessive labor and fatigue. While his health permitted, he preached two or three times every Sunday; and generally three or four times between Sunday and Sunday. Every fourth Sunday he came to our chapel, at Newchurch: the Monday and Tuesday following, he preached at Padiham and Burnley; which places are from fifteen to eighteen miles distant from Rochdale; beside occasionally visiting other places; for instance, Todmorden, where, in 1815, a party left the Methodists, having embraced the doctrines for which Mr Cooke was expelled; and Haslingden, where some have since become Unitarians. He had to encounter a host of opposition; particularly from the body with which he had formerly been united. This, together with thinking, preaching, writing, and travelling, overpowered his slender constitution; a consumption, attended with spitting of blood, obliged him to give up (except occasionally) the public duties of the ministry; and about eighteen months after, that life, which had been spent in doing good, was closed. Mr Cooke died March 14th, 1811. Mr Cooke left behind him, to deplore his loss, a wife and five young children, and more than a thousand people,

who looked up to him as their pastor; of whom it might most truly be said, "See, how they loved him!"—pp. 49, 50.

An appendix contains an account of his patience, cheerfulness, and edifying deportment during his last illness, and an extract from the discourse delivered at his funeral. We take a passage from the latter, which, considering the source from which it comes, our readers will think to be striking.

'But Mr Cooke was a man that did not seek for ease. He thought for and preached to the same people five or six times in the week at the least, and his last sermon was always thought by his audience to be better, and to edify more, than that which preceded it. He had the care of erecting a house and a large place of worship—the labor of walking two or three miles into the country, three or four nights in a week—the fatigue of travelling to the distance of twenty miles from home once a month, and preaching at several places in the way—the care of all the societies—the pain of anything that was disorderly among them, besides the mighty opposition he met with from the body from which he had been expelled; so that he had not only to relinquish a plenteous and sure provision, and comparative ease, in order to maintain a good conscience; but in consequence thereof he had to encounter hardship, grief, and pain. When we read of St Paul counting all things loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord, and in opposition to all the learning, power, and malice of Jews and Gentiles, preaching the Gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum, regardless of pleasure or pain, ease or hardship, praise or censure, we see a brave and great man. When we read of two thousand men choosing to be expelled from a church where they were with their families well provided for, suffering all the hardship of persecution and the most extreme and pinching poverty, rather than violate their consciences by assenting to an act of uniformity; we see two thousand great men, such as England never saw at once, either before or since that time. And when I see a man with a wife and four small children, for whom he had the most tender affection as a husband and father, expelled from a body which he dearly loved, and where he and his family were well provided for, abandoned to uncertainty, enduring hardship, encountering a flood of opposition, and preferring to relinquish and encounter all this, rather than give up truth and violate his conscience, I see a great man; which fully justifies me in saying, "Know ye not that a prince and a great man is fallen this day in Israel."

'Thus we have seen that the man whose loss we deplore, was great because he was good; because he used his abilities in

plucking sinners as brands from the burning, and because he preferred truth and a good conscience to every other consideration. And the exertions he made in spreading and vindicating truth, with the pain that he met with in so doing, no doubt laid the foundation of that complaint which terminated his life. Many who had very much decried what he had taught, supposed (because no doubt they wished it) that sickness and the prospect of death would shake that firmness which he had manifested while in health towards the doctrines for which he was expelled. But death, terrible as it may appear to some, was so far from moving him, that having heard the sermons read which contained those doctrines, he most heartily approved of them; and the more he examined the nature of the motives which induced him to publish them, the more he was convinced of their purity, and he possessed the greatest satisfaction of mind at the result thereof. In this happy belief he breathed his soul into the hands of that God he had thus conscientiously served.'—pp. 72, 73.

There are two things further, which we have noted in reading this pamphlet, so strikingly similar to what has been sometimes witnessed amongst ourselves, that we must be permitted briefly to state them. The first relates to the manner in which his opponents were pleased to speak of Mr Cooke's opinions.

'Two or three years before he died, it was said of him, that he had laid aside the Bible, and put common sense in its place; merely because he explained the Bible agreeably to the common sense of mankind; and to prove that he was wrong, he was called a Socinian. Since his death, we have often been told, that he was no Socinian; and that he was far from believing what we teach on the Atonement, Original Sin, and the Trinity.'—p. 51.

The other relates to an arrangement for exchanging pulpits. The two congregations at Rochdale and Newchurch, had grown up together at the same time, under similar circumstances, and a very intimate union naturally existed between them. Mr Cooke regularly exchanged with the minister at Newchurch every fourth Sunday; and on supplying the vacancy after his death, in doing which both societies had a voice, it was made an express condition of Mr Bowman's settlement, that the exchange should be continued; and 'Mr Bowman expressed his hearty desire that there should be an exchange.' All seemed to promise harmony and satisfaction. But by and by 'his strain of preaching began to alter;' dissatisfaction arose in consequence; people were 'astonished that the man

should act so directly contrary to his professions ;' and the result at length was the dissolution of the former happy connexion between the two societies, and the division of the Rochdale congregation into two parts. We could almost believe, in reading this, that we were reading the account of some reputable transactions nearer home. The sequel, also, may find its counterpart in our own land. One of the trustees, it seems, had objected to the exchange, and no doubt encouraged and urged Mr Bowman to the measures which produced alienation and schism. Such busybodies there sometimes are in a society, who will have everything their own way. But observe the result.

'But what perhaps will surprise you as much as it surprised us, was, that the same trustee who opposed the exchange, and who professed so heartily to approve of Mr Bowman and what he taught, immediately turned his artillery against poor Mr Bowman ; and calling in once more the assistance of his allies, in less than three months after his first victory, drove poor Mr Bowman back again to Ipswich.'—p. 55.

ART. V.—*The Life of Mohammed ; Founder of the Religion of Islam, and of the Empire of the Saracens.* By the Rev. GEORGE BUSH, A. M. New-York : J. & J. Harper, 1830. 18mo. pp. 261.

ENGLISH literature has been remarkably deficient, until lately, in popular and well written accounts of Islamism and its founder. Dr Prideaux is a learned and honest writer on these subjects, but heavy, and full of prejudice. Sale's Koran, with the notes and preliminary discourse, contains much valuable information, collected and expressed with candor and a truly philosophical spirit ; but it is a work for scholars, and not for general reading. The same remark is also applicable to the translation of Reland, and in some degree to that of Savary. Gibbon's learned and eloquent chapters on the character, policy, and brilliant fortunes of Mohammed and the early Ca-

liph, have been much read and admired. Many are offended, however, and justly, at the sly insinuations against Christianity, in which they abound; and besides, as Mr Hallam observes, Gibbon, in this part of his work, has not sufficiently apprised the reader of the crumbling foundation, on which not a little of his splendid narrative depends. Dr White's Bampton Lecture Sermons, though the child of many fathers, and exhibiting, in its whole history, the most remarkable instance on record of literary fraud and mystification, is, after all, as it seems to us, a peculiarly unsatisfactory work, and in no respect worthy of the reputation of either of the three distinguished scholars concerned in its composition. The History of Mohammedanism, by Charles Mills, the first edition of which appeared in 1817, is decidedly the most valuable of that writer's publications, and still continues to be one of the best popular works in the language on the character and pretensions of the Arabian reformer, and on the morals, religion, and laws of the Moslem nations.

The recent wars and other changes in the East, have drawn the attention of Christians to these subjects, and awakened a degree of curiosity respecting them, which has not been felt since the Moors were driven out of Spain. As a consequence of this, and to gratify the tastes thus excited, a multitude of books of travels, and other works, have appeared in England in rapid succession during the last few years, many of which have not been republished, and some of them are hardly known, in this country. We may mention particularly Mr Forster's Mohammedanism Unveiled, whose object it is, in two octavo volumes, to prove from reason and scripture, that Mohammed was a special agent of the Almighty, a kind of spurious Messiah to the posterity of the spurious Ishmael, as Jesus Christ was a legitimate Messiah to the posterity of the legitimate Isaac; and that the origin, propagation, and permanence of Islamism are no more resolvable into natural causes, than the origin, propagation, and permanence of Christianity.

'From Abraham,' says he, 'by his sons, Isaac and Ishmael, went forth a twofold progeny, and a twofold promise. In each progeny the promise of Jehovah has, in point of fact, had a double accomplishment. A temporal and a spiritual Isaac, the legitimate heir, through Judaism and Christianity, has given laws and religion to a great portion of the inhabited world. Ishmael, the illegitimate seed, through the primitive Arabians, and the

variously incorporated Moslems, has given laws and religion to a still larger portion of mankind. Isaac new modelled the faith and morals of men; first, through his literal descendants, the Jews, and secondly, through his spiritual descendants, the Christians. Ishmael effected a corresponding revolution in the world; first, through his literal descendants, the Arabs, secondly, through his spiritual descendants, the Turks and Tartars. In the case of Isaac, the change was wrought by the advent of Jesus Christ; a person, uniting in himself, by divine appointment, the offices of prophet and apostle, of priest, lawgiver, and king; and whose character and claims are equally unprecedented. In that of Ishmael the change was effected by the appearance of Mohammed; a person professing to unite in himself the same offices as by divine appointment, and presenting in this union the only known parallel to Jesus Christ, and his typical forerunners, in the annals of the world.*

Another work of a very different character has just appeared; 'An Apology for the Life and Character of the celebrated Prophet of Arabia, called Mohammed, or the Illustrious: By Godfrey Higgins, Esq.' This gentleman, instead of acknowledging two Messiahs, like Mr Forster, will not allow that we have had one. He admits that Jesus Christ was almost equal to Mohammed, that Christianity is not much inferior to Islamism, and that Unitarian Christians are about as good as Unitarian Mussulmans. To defend his illustrious prophet against the charge of imposture for representing himself as sent of God, he maintains that he may innocently have assumed this character, thinking himself called by Providence, in so corrupt and degraded a state of society, to bring about a reformation. One would suppose that he looks back with unaffected sorrow on the issue of the most eventful battle ever fought on this earth;—when the forces of Christendom, under Charles Martel, met in the heart of France, and rolled back and scattered the Saracen host, which had already swept over some of the fairest portions of Europe, and, but for that signal overthrow, were almost sure, in a little time, to plant the standard of the prophet on the walls of every city in the western world. 'A philosopher,' he says, 'may, perhaps, be tempted to heave a sigh of regret for the beautiful, plain, intelligible and unadorned simplicity of the Mohammedan profession of faith, Believe in one God, and Mohammed, the apostle of God.' Mr Higgins,

* Mohammedanism Unveiled, Vol. I. pp. 71, 72.

we hardly need add, affects, like many others, Gibbon's infidelity, without his genius and learning to adorn it, or his ingenuity and sense of decency to disguise it.

The work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, is chiefly remarkable as being the first on the subject from an American pen. It lays claim to no higher character than that of a compilation from approved authorities, most of them English and modern, and is deficient throughout in the indications of a sound philosophy, and just principles of criticism. The narrative, however, is conducted with considerable skill, and in a pleasing style, and for the most part, in a good spirit; and for these and other reasons, it is likely to be generally circulated and read in this country. The author says, in his preface;—

‘In one respect he may venture to assure the reader he will find the plan of the ensuing pages an improvement upon preceding Memoirs; and that is, in the careful collation of the chapters of the Koran with the events of the narrative. He will probably find the history illustrated to an unexpected extent from this source—a circumstance, which, while it serves greatly to *authenticate* the facts related, imparts a zest also to the tenor of the narrative scarcely to be expected from the nature of the theme.’—*Preface*, p. 6.

Our limits will oblige us to confine our selections and remarks to some views of Mohammed's personal character, and pretended revelations, which are still involved in doubt and obscurity.

The question is often stated, whether, in the judgment of sober and impartial history, he is to be condemned as guilty of fanaticism, or imposture, or both.

‘On the one hand,’ says Mr Bush, ‘it is supposed by some, that Mohammed was constitutionally addicted to religious contemplation—that his native temperament was strongly tinged with enthusiasm—and that he might originally have been free from any sinister motive in giving scope to the innate propensities of his character. As the result of his retired speculations he might, moreover, it is said, have been sincerely persuaded in his own mind of the grand article of his faith, the unity of God, which in his opinion was violated by all the rest of the world; and, therefore, might have deemed it a meritorious work to endeavour to liberate his countrymen and his race from the bondage of error. Impelled by this motive in the outset, and being

aided by a warm imagination, he might at length have come, it is affirmed, as enthusiasts have often done, to the firm conviction, that he was destined by Providence to be the instrument of a great and glorious reformation; and the circumstance of his being accustomed to solitary retirement would naturally cause this persuasion to take a deeper root in his mind. In this manner, it is supposed, his career might have commenced; but finding himself to have succeeded beyond his expectations, and the force of temptation growing with the increase of his popularity and power, his self-love at last overpowered his honesty, ambition took the place of devotion, his designs expanded with his success, and he who had entered upon a pious enterprise as a well-meaning reformer, degenerated in the end into a wilful impostor, a gross debauchee, and an unprincipled despot.

‘On the other hand, it is maintained, and we think with more of an air of probability, that his conduct from the very first bears the marks of a deep-laid and systematic design; that although he might not have anticipated all the results which crowned the undertaking, yet in every step of his progress he acted with a shrewdness and circumspection very little savoring of the dreams of enthusiasm; that the pretended visits of an angel, and his publishing, from time to time, the chapters of the Koran, as a divine revelation, are wholly inconsistent with the idea of his being merely a deluded fanatic; and that, at any rate, the discovery of his inability to work a miracle, the grand voucher of a divine messenger, must have been sufficient to dispel the fond illusion from his mind.’—pp. 46, 47.

Now we believe that the very fact here relied on as proving Mohammed an impostor,—his not pretending to be able to work miracles, proves the contrary. He could not, of course, work real miracles; but what was there, if we reject the supposition of sincerity, to prevent him from attempting to counterfeit miracles? He appears in every step of his progress, as a reformer and the founder of a new religion, to have been the dupe of his own delusions, to the extent, at least, of believing that he was really a prophet. ‘Men,’ says Shaftesbury, ‘are wonderfully happy in a faculty of deceiving themselves, whenever they set heartily about it; and a very small foundation of any passion will serve us, not only to act it well, but even to work ourselves into it beyond our own reach.’ It betrays a singular ignorance of human nature not to know that a sincere fanaticism is compatible with consummate artifice and address in the accomplishment of its leading designs. Even the dissoluteness

of Mohammed toward the close of life, admitting it to have been as great as is pretended, proves nothing; for what is more natural or common, than that one who feels himself exalted above ordinary humanity, should also feel himself exempted from its ordinary restraints and obligations? Power corrupted Mohammed, it is true, as it did Cromwell, and as it has done a thousand other fanatics; but it is a mistake to suppose that in doing this, it always, or often, has the effect to sink the fanatic in the impostor. He is a fanatic still. There is no point in morals which so much needs a distinct inculcation as this,—that a religious fanatic may continue sincere in his high pretensions, and yet, with a conscience that has become the dupe of his self-delusions, scruple not to commit the foulest crimes. Ambition and sensuality, in particular, can hardly expect to address themselves with so much success to the wily and cautious impostor, as to the sincere fanatic, who, with a temperament naturally sanguine, and already excited by other causes, has given up the reins of his passions to a diseased and perverted imagination.

The following account is given in the work before us of Mohammed's fundamental doctrines.

‘He announced to them that he was commissioned by the Almighty to be his prophet on the earth; to assert the unity of the Divine Being; to denounce the worship of images; to recall the people to the true and only religion; to bear the tidings of paradise to the believing; and to threaten the deaf and unbelieving with the terrible vengeance of the Lord. His main doctrine, and that which constitutes the distinguishing character of the Koran, is, that there is but one God; that he only is to be worshipped; and that all idolatry is a foul abomination, to be utterly abolished. The 112th ch. of the Koran, entitled “The declaration of God’s Unity,” is held in the most profound veneration by the Mohammedans, and declared, by a tradition of the prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Koran. It is said to have been revealed in answer to the Koreish, who inquired of the apostle concerning the distinguishing attributes of the God whom he invited them to worship. It consists of a single sentence. “In the name of the most merciful God. Say, God is one God; the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any one like unto him.” In the incessant repetition of this doctrine in the pages of the Koran, the author is aiming not only at the grosser errors of polytheism

and idolatry, then common among the Eastern nations, but is levelling a blow also at the fundamental tenet of Christianity, that Jesus Christ is the son of God, "the only begotten of the Father."—pp. 57, 58.

"Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from him. Believe, therefore, in God and his apostles, and say not there are three Gods; forbear this; it will be better for you. God is but one God. Far be it from him that he should have a son! Unto him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and he is sufficient unto himself." "They are certainly infidels who say, Verily, God is Christ the son of Mary. Whoever shall give a companion unto God, God shall exclude him from paradise, and his habitation shall be hell-fire. They are certainly infidels who say God is the third of three: for there is no God besides one God. Christ, the son of Mary, is no more than an apostle; and his mother was a woman of veracity: they both ate food." "There is no God but he: the curse be on those whom they associate with him in his worship."

"With this fundamental article of the Moslem creed, Mohammed connected that of his being, since Moses and Jesus, the only true prophet of God. "We gave unto the children of Israel the book of the law, and wisdom, and prophecy; and we fed them with good things, and preferred them above all nations: and we gave them plain ordinances concerning the business of religion. Afterward we appointed thee, O Mohammed, to promulgate a law concerning the business of religion: wherefore follow the same, and follow not the desires of those who are ignorant." The object of his mission, he affirmed, was not so much to deliver to the world an entirely new scheme of religion, as to restore and replant the only true and ancient faith professed by the patriarchs and prophets, from Adam down to Christ. "Thus have we revealed unto thee an Arabic Koran, that thou mayest warn the metropolis of Mecca, and the Arabs who dwell round about it. He hath ordained you the religion which he commanded Noah, and which we have revealed unto thee, O Mohammed, and which we commanded Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus; saying, observe this religion, and be not divided therein. Wherefore, invite them to receive the sure faith, and be urgent with them as thou hast been commanded." This revival and re-establishment of the ancient faith, he taught, was to be effected by purging it of the idolatrous notions of the Arabs, and of the corruptions of the Jews and Christians. For while he admits the fact that the books of the Old and New Testaments were originally written by inspiration, he at the same time

maintains, that they have been since so shamefully corrupted by their respective disciples, that the present copies of both are utterly unworthy of credit; and therefore he seldom quotes them in the Koran according to the received text.'—pp. 59–61.

We must not infer from these passages, as some have done, that Mohammed borrowed his religious notions, in the first instance, from the Jews or Christians. They are derived, for the most part, as Michaelis observes,* from a sect of Arabian philosophers—Naturalists we should term them—who believed but in one only God, and a future life of retribution. The Arabs called them Hanifin, that is, the Profane, because they disowned the gods of the country; just as among heathens the Christians were often called atheists, for the same reason. It is an error, therefore, in Mede, Jortin, and other respectable authorities, to represent Mohammedanism as being, in its origin, a christian heresy, or the fruit of one. The prophet, in the beginning, does not appear to have looked beyond reclaiming his idolatrous countrymen to the doctrines of natural religion. It was an after-thought which led him to engraft his system on preceding revelations, and represent himself as the last in a long succession of inspired lawgivers. His ambition arose with his power; his views of reform extended with those of conquest and empire; and he found, moreover, in the corruptions of the christian church, as he proceeded, almost as much to offend his better conceptions of the unity and spirituality of God, as in the superstitions of the pagans. 'The worship of relics and images was almost universal; the throne of the Almighty, in the words of Gibbon, was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels; the virgin Mary was a goddess, and the trinity, as it was then taught, a gross and palpable tritheism.

In this state of things, it has been thought, and not without reason, that Mohammed owed all his merit, and much of his success, as a religious reformer, to the clear and decided testimony which he bore to the divine unity. Many among the Catholics must have been sensible, that, in the corruptions just named, the church was fast relapsing into a semblance of paganism. Such an impression was likely to be felt in the East more generally than anywhere else, because there monotheism, under different forms, had been deeply rooted in the best

* *Laws of Moses*, Vol. III. p. 129.

minds from the remotest antiquity. On this subject we will give the thoughts of an able but somewhat fanciful writer in the *Monthly Review*.

‘The hereditary monotheism of the Hebrews followed them everywhere; and if they occasionally neglected the minor ceremonial of the law, they adhered obstinately to circumcision and to an iconoclastic hatred of images; they tolerated polygamy in the higher classes of society, and became so numerous in several provinces of the Persian empire, especially in Syria, that in many places, the monotheists were strong enough to shake off their allegiance to the idolatrous Babylonian sovereign, and to found independent states. Aretas, king of Damascus, and Abgar, king of Edessa, were separatists of this description; and Josephus notices a kind of league, which included many others. These petty princes adhered to the Hildian party of the Jewish priesthood, and were glad to see the influence of the temple exerted to banish troublesome ceremonial observances; in common with the Hildian Jews they acknowledged Jesus Christ as a prophet, but as nothing more, and so at a later period, but in the same spirit, did Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who appointed Paul of Samosata, for her bishop.

‘When the church of Rome made its great innovations in Christianity, by introducing the worship of images, the oriental Jew-Christians became indignant, and desirous of standing aloof from such idolatrous profanation. Mohammed saw this, and took up the oriental Christianity, exactly where he found it, with strict monotheism for its theology, with circumcision for its initiatory rite, with polygamy for a tolerated practice, with a high veneration for the Jewish scriptures, and with the opinion that Jesus Christ was a human sage, and a prophet of the truth.—Thus Mohammed met the traditional creed of all those nations which were descended from the subjects of the vast Parthian or Hebrew empire, and he was secure of the secret alliance of the monotheists everywhere while he permitted to his followers the plunder only of the idolaters and Latinized Christians. The custody of the sacred well, which was an hereditary right of the family of Mohammed, might aid him in dictating religious professions to the Arabians, but these his first followers had little of the spirit of piety, and, like the Pindaries of our own time, were a predatory cavalry, accustomed

to subsist by overrunning the seats of industry, and equally contented with any interior ally that could supply a pretext for irruption, and purchase the irremovable booty. If these Arabian freebooters were the original proclaimers of the religion of Mohammed, still there was little of conversion and little of faith among the Arabs; the popular, the settled, the enduring basis of his sect, is to be sought in the Jew-Christians or Hebrews, properly so called.*

Though we do not concur in all these speculations, we think there is good evidence for believing that Mohammed appealed to Unitarian Christians, who confirmed some of his representations of our Saviour's doctrine, and were won over to his measures, in part at least, by their abhorrence of the unscriptural and idolatrous worship, which had found its way into the church. The following is given in Hale's *New Analysis of Chronology*,† as part of a correspondence between the prophet and the king of Abyssinia, a Christian.

“In the name of God, gracious and merciful:

“Mohammed, Apostle of God, to Naiashi Ashama, Emperor of Abyssinia, Health.

“Glory be to God, the only God, holy, pacific, faithful, and the Protector.

“I testify, that Jesus, the son of Mary, is the spirit of God, and his oracle; which God caused to descend into Mary, the blessed and immaculate Virgin, and she conceived. He created Jesus of his spirit, and animated him by his breath, as he animated Adam.

“I call thee, on my part, to the worship of the only God; of God who has no equal, and who commands the powers of heaven and earth. Trust in my mission, follow me, be in the number of my disciples. I am the Apostle of God.

“I have sent into thy states my cousin Jafar, with some mus-sulmans. Take them under thy protection, and prevent their wants. Lay aside the pride of a throne. I invite thee and thy legions to embrace the worship of the Supreme Being. My ministry is discharged. I have exhorted thee. Heaven grant that my councils may be salutary. Peace be with him who marches by the torch of the true faith.”

‘The king of Abyssinia having received this letter, applied it to his eyes, descended from the throne, seated himself upon the

* *Monthly Review*, Vol. XCI. p. 201. † Vol. III. pp. 320, 321.

ground, pronounced the profession of mussulman faith, and answered in this manner :

“ In the name of God, gracious and merciful.

“ To Mohammed, Apostle of God, Elnaiashi Ahama, Health.

“ Peace be with thee, Apostle of God ! May he cover thee with his mercy, may he load thee with his blessings ! There is no God, but he who led me to Islamism. O Prophet, I have read the letter which thou hast sent me. What thou sayest of Jesus is the true belief. He himself added no more. I thereto call to witness the Sovereign of heaven and earth.”

Mr Bush, after quoting a passage from the Koran, in which God is represented as saying, ‘ *We* have cursed them,’ observes in a note ;—

‘ The reader will notice that notwithstanding Mohammed’s strenuous assertion of God’s absolute unity, and his execrations of those who ascribe to him “ associates,” yet when he introduces him speaking in the Koran it is usually in the plural number.’—p. 61.

Whether this was intended as a concession, or not, we are unable to say ; but we choose to regard it in that light. It exposes in the happiest manner, as Rammohun Roy and others have said, the futility of attempts to deduce an argument for the trinity from the circumstance, that God is sometimes represented in the Old Testament as speaking in the same way. If this mode of expression had not been regarded merely as the regal style, and familiar as such particularly to the Orientals, and therefore perfectly consistent with the strict unity of the Supreme Being, we may be sure that it would never have been employed by Mohammed, or the compilers of the Koran. If these men had had the remotest suspicion that in after times a race of critics would arise, so ignorant of the philosophy of language as to adduce expressions of this nature in support of the trinity—a doctrine the peculiar object of Moslem aversion—we may be sure that they would either have avoided such expressions altogether, or explicitly protested against such a perversion of their true meaning.

A fact is also mentioned in this connexion by Mr Forster, and frequently insisted on for another purpose, which should lessen our surprise at the introduction of Trinitarianism into the christian church.

'The Trinitarian doctrine,' says he, '(however confusedly expressed and imperfectly understood) very curiously reappears in the shape of a Mohammedan heresy, in the philosophical school of the Hâyetia's, or followers of the Molazalite doctor Ahmed Ebn Hâyet. The circumstance is highly interesting and important, as an index to the tendency of Mohammedanism toward Catholic Christianity; thus manifested in the early reaching forth of Mohammedan speculation to grasp the fundamental mystery of Catholic truth.' *

If there are Trinitarian Mussulmans, we certainly cannot wonder that there should be Trinitarian Christians; for though the Bible is as truly and entirely Unitarian as the Koran, it will not be pretended that it is more so. The truth is, however, that the doctrine of the trinity, whether among Mussulmans or Christians, had the same origin. It did not originate in the Koran, or the Bible; but in pagan superstitions, in a strange propensity in mankind to multiply the objects of their worship, united, in the case of the philosophers, with Gnostic or Platonic notions of the Divinity. These causes were sufficient so far to blind the Moslem doctors, as to make them think that the deity of Jesus Christ was taught or recognised in a book manifestly and expressly written to refute the doctrine. Can we wonder, therefore, that, in the same or a similar state of society, the same or similar causes had the effect to blind and mislead Christians in the same way? As we know that the causes just named were sufficient to introduce the error of the trinity, or something like it, into Islamism, contrary to the obvious and express teaching of the Koran, we find no difficulty in accounting in the same way for the introduction of the same error into Christianity, contrary to the obvious and express teaching of the Bible.

The following is the account which Mr Bush gives of the origin of the Koran itself.

'The original or archetype of the Koran, Mohammed taught, was laid up from everlasting in the archives of heaven, being written on what he termed the *preserved table*, near to the throne of God, from which the series of chapters communicated by Gabriel were a transcript. This pretended gradual mode of revelation was certainly a master-stroke of policy in the impostor. "The unbelievers say, unless the Koran be sent down to him entire at once, we will not believe. But in this manner have we revealed it, that we might confirm thy heart thereby, and we

* Mohammedanism Unveiled, Vol. I. p. 386.

have dictated it gradually by distinct parcels." Had the whole volume been published at once, so that a rigid examination could have been instituted into its contents as a whole, and the different parts brought into comparison with each other, glaring inconsistencies would have been easily detected, and objections urged which he would probably have found it impossible to answer. But by pretending to receive his oracles in separate portions, at different times, according as his own exigences or those of his followers required, he had a ready way of silencing all cavils, and extricating himself with credit from every difficulty, as nothing forbade the message or mandate of to-day being modified or abrogated by that of to-morrow. In this manner, twenty-three years elapsed before the whole chain of revelations was completed, though the prophet informed his disciples that he had the consolation of seeing the entire Koran, bound in silk and adorned with gold and gems of Paradise, once a year, till, in the last year of his life, he was favored with the vision twice. A part of these spurious oracles were published at Mecca before his flight, the remainder at Medina after it. The particular mode of publication is said to have been this: When a new chapter had been communicated to the prophet, and was about to be promulgated for the benefit of the world, he first dictated it to his secretary, and then delivered the written paper to his followers, to be read and repeated till it had become firmly imprinted upon their memories, when the paper was again returned to the prophet, who carefully deposited it in a chest, called by him "the chest of his apostleship." The hint of this sacred coffer was doubtless taken from the Ark of the Covenant, the holy chest of the Jewish tabernacle, in which the authentic copy of the law was laid up and preserved. This chest Mohammed left at his death in the care of one of his wives; and from its contents the volume of the Koran was afterwards compiled. The first collection and arrangement of these prophetic relics, more precious than the scattered leaves of all the Sybils, was made by Abubeker, but the whole was afterward revised and new-modeled by Othman, who left the entire volume of the Koran in the order in which we now have it.—pp. 62-64.

The writer appears to regard our present Koran as being substantially the same, even in its order, arrangement and dates, with that given by Mohammed himself, and is therefore continually referring to it as a valuable contemporary authority. In this opinion he is not sustained by the best writers on the subject, who agree more generally in the account given by Mr Mills.

'Whenever enthusiasm suggested, or passion and policy required it, a portion of the divine commands was proclaimed by the preacher to his auditory of fanatics, and registered by them in their memories, or inscribed on the more durable materials of the leaves of the palm-tree, and the skins of animals. A copy of these fragments was entrusted to the charge of one of his most favored wives; and although Abubeker, the first Caliph, methodized them into a volume, yet in the course of a few years, so many errors had crept into the sacred text, that Othman, the third Caliph, called in the different manuscripts, and assured the faithful, he would rectify them from the original. But so manifold were the various readings of these copies, that, as the least difficult task, the successor of the prophet destroyed the volumes themselves, and published a new Koran, which is the same that we now read.'*

Mosheim has still another theory.

'The book which the Mohammedans call the Koran, or Alcoran, is composed of several papers and discourses of Mohammed, which were discovered and collected after his death, and is by no means that same *law*, whose excellence Mohammed vaunted so highly. That some parts of the true Koran may be copied in the modern one, is indeed very possible; but that the Koran or Law given by Mohammed to the Arabians, is entirely distinct from the modern Alcoran, is manifest from this, that in the latter, Mohammed appeals to and extols the former, and therefore they must be two different compositions. May it not be conjectured, that the true Koran was an Arabic poem, which Mohammed recited to his followers without giving it to them in writing, ordering them only to commit it to their memory? Such were the laws of the Druids in Gaul, and such also those of the Indians, which the Bramins receive by oral tradition, and get by heart.'*

We shall close this article with a passage from Hallam's Middle Ages, better calculated than anything we have seen to enlighten the public mind, and correct popular misconceptions, respecting the spirit of Islamism, and the causes of its spread.

'A full explanation of the causes which contributed to the progress of Mohammedism is not perhaps at present attainable by those most conversant with this department of literature.

* Mills' History of Mohammedanism, pp. 277, 278.

† Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. pp. 154, 155, note.

But we may point out several of leading importance: in the first place, those just and elevated notions of the divine nature, and of moral duties, the gold ore that pervades the dross of the Koran, which were calculated to strike a serious and reflecting people, already perhaps disinclined, by intermixture with their Jewish and Christian fellow citizens, to the superstitions of ancient idolatry; next, the artful incorporation of tenets, usages, and traditions from the various religions that existed in Arabia; and thirdly, the extensive application of the precepts in the Koran, a book confessedly written with much elegance and purity, to all legal transactions, and all the business of life. It may be expected that I should add to these, what is commonly considered as a distinguishing mark of Mohammedanism, its indulgence to voluptuousness. But this appears to be greatly exaggerated. Although the character of its founder may have been tainted by sensuality as well as ferociousness, I do not think that he relied upon inducements of the former kind for the diffusion of his system. We are not to judge of this by rules of Christian purity, or of European practice. If polygamy was a prevailing usage in Arabia, as is not questioned, its permission gave no additional license to the proselytes of Mohammed, who will be found rather to have narrowed the unbounded liberty of Oriental manners in this respect; while his decided condemnation of adultery, and of incestuous connexions, so frequent among barbarous nations, does not argue a very lax and accommodating morality. A devout Mussulman exhibits much more of the Stoical, than the Epicurean character. Nor can any one read the Koran without being sensible that it breathes an austere and scrupulous spirit. And in fact the founder of a new religion or sect is little likely to obtain premanent success by indulging the vices and luxuries of mankind. I should rather be disposed to reckon the severity of Mohammed's discipline among the causes of its influence. Precepts of ritual observance, being always definite and unequivocal, are less likely to be neglected, after their obligation has been acknowledged, than those of moral virtue. Thus the long fasting, the pilgrimages, the regular prayers and ablutions, the constant almsgiving, the abstinence from stimulating liquors, enjoined by the Koran, created a visible standard of practice among its followers, and preserved a continual recollection of their law.

‘But the prevalence of Islam, in the life-time of its prophet, and during the first ages of its existence, was chiefly owing to the spirit of martial energy that he infused into it. The religion of Mohammed is as essentially a military system, as the institution of chivalry in the west of Europe. The people of Arabia, a race

of strong passions and sanguinary temper, inured to habits of pillage and murder, found in the law of their native prophet, not a license, but a command to desolate the world, and the promise of all that their glowing imaginations could anticipate of Paradise annexed to all in which they most delighted upon earth. It is difficult for us, in the calmness of our closets, to conceive that feverish intensity of excitement to which man may be wrought, when the animal and intellectual energies of his nature converge to a point, and the buoyancy of strength and courage reciprocates the influence of moral sentiment or religious hope. The effect of this union I have formerly remarked in the Crusades; a phenomenon perfectly analogous to the early history of the Saracens. In each, one hardly knows whether most to admire the prodigious exertions of heroism, or to revolt from the ferocious bigotry that attended them. But the Crusades were a temporary effort, not thoroughly congenial to the spirit of Christendom, which, even in the darkest and most superstitious ages, was not susceptible of the solitary and over-ruling fanaticism of the Moslems. They needed no excitement from pontiffs and preachers to achieve the work to which they were called; the precept was in their law, the principle was in their hearts, the assurance of success was in their swords. O prophet, exclaimed Ali, when Mohammed, in the first years of his mission, sought among the scanty and hesitating assembly of his friends, a vizir and lieutenant in command, I am the man; whoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them. These words of Mohammed's early and illustrious disciple are, as it were, a text, upon which the commentary expands into the whole Saracenic history. They contain the vital essence of his religion, implicit faith and ferocious energy.*

One word as to the proper orthography of the prophet's name. In the Byzantine historians it is sometimes written Maometis, from which, we suppose, was derived the old way of spelling it in English, Mahomet. This is now almost universally rejected by oriental scholars. Mills prefers Muhammed; Rammohun Roy, Mohummed; Sale, Mohammed. Mr Bush very judiciously adopts the mode last mentioned, as supported by the best authorities; and we hope his example in this respect will be followed by writers generally, if for no other reason, for uniformity's sake.

* Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. II. pp. 402-6.

ART. VI.—*Observations upon the Peloponnesus and Greek Islands, made in 1829.* By RUFUS ANDERSON, one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston: CROCKER & BREWSTER. 1830. 12mo. pp. 334.

THE objects which the Prudential Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions had in view, in sending Mr Anderson as a special agent to the Mediterranean, are stated to have been the two following. 'First, the missionaries to Syria, being driven from their station by the political disturbances which agitated the Turkish empire, were in the island of Malta, and the Committee were anxious to confer with them in relation to future operations in the east. Second, the Committee were desirous to know, more satisfactorily than they had the means of knowing, precisely what kind of efforts in behalf of liberated Greece were incumbent on the Board.'

The results of the agency are partly exhibited in this volume. It consists of two main divisions; the first of which is a narrative of the tour, including observations on the localities and scenery, soil and agriculture, manners and customs of Greece, and the effects of the late war upon the country; and the second is an account of its territory, population and government, state of education, and church, concluding with opinions on the proper measures to be pursued by Protestants for the benefit of the oriental churches. To those who wish for information on these subjects, without intending to go deeply into them, we can recommend this book, from a cursory perusal of it, as furnishing what they want, in an entertaining manner, a concise form, a fair and moderate spirit, and with great apparent accuracy.

Mr Anderson sailed from Boston for Malta, on the 28th of November, 1828. In a little more than twenty days he saw the opposite mountains of Europe and Africa, and on the first day of the year 1829 arrived at Malta. Here he remained till the 25th of February, and then embarked for Corfu, with the Rev. Eli Smith, a missionary of the Board, as his companion. They reached Corfu on the 3d of March, and then pursued their tour through most of the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnesus, the Western Sporades, and the Northern Cyclades. Though their object in this tour was not to measure

ruins and determine the sites of ancient cities and battle-grounds, but to institute moral and religious investigations, which they considered, and which we consider, of far greater importance, yet they show that they are not insensible to classical influences, and the details of their journey are frequently enlivened by sketches of scenery, brief accounts of the remains of antiquity, and interesting anecdotes.

As our intention is only to offer a short notice of this work, we shall proceed at once to make a few extracts from it, taken almost at random.

The travelling equipment of Mr Anderson and his friend, while on the peninsula, is thus described.

'The time from the 13th to the 25th of May we spent at Ægina, making inquiries of which the principal results will be given when I speak of the state and prospects of education in Greece. At the end of that time, having received letters to men most likely to favor our object in different parts of the Peloponnesus, and also a circular from Mr Tricoupis, Foreign Secretary of the Greek government, commending us to the provincial authorities, we entered upon our principal tour in the peninsula. Knowing the country to be almost literally destitute of houses, we had procured a cotton tent at Ægina sufficiently large to accommodate ourselves and baggage. Our interpreter had liberty to sleep in it, but he often chose to spend the night with the muleteers under the open heavens, which at this season are beautifully clear. We carried utensils for cooking, and certain articles of food, as coffee, tea, sugar, rice and ham. In addition to our interpreter, we took a man to look after our baggage, who was willing to attend us and provide his own food for four dollars a month. The animals we rode were usually mules, accoutred with a rope halter for a bridle, a pack-saddle of rude frame-work, and cord for stirrups. Throwing our capotes across the saddle and whatever else we had to render the seat tolerable, we moved on in a moderate walk, and in Indian file, with a muleteer on foot before to lead the way, and others behind to urge on the caravan. Mr Smith or myself rode first, as we found the one or the other had the freest animal, and our interpreter kept near us to perform the duties of his office. The servant saw that the baggage was neither stolen, nor lost; and it is due to his carefulness or to the honesty of the Greeks, to say, that not an article was missing at the end of the journey. When we wished to encamp, we inquired for water, grass, and a sheep-fold. Having found these, or at least the two former, our tent was pitched, our strong wooden chests were so laid as to serve for tables, and our beds spread on the ground.

Pilaf was made of the rice, and the occasional addition of an egg rendered this dish quite a luxury.* Our bread was often old and dry, and was never very white, though commonly made of wheat, and palatable. Once or twice it was made simply of barley, and then it was coarse, black and heavy. In all the Arcadian region we were generally able to obtain the milk of ewes, or goats, but we saw no cows. The shepherds frequently supplied us with a preparation they call *yagourte*. It is the *leben* mentioned by our missionaries in Syria, and is milk coagulated in a particular manner,† and soon rendered agreeable by use. Meat we could seldom get. Our diet was necessarily simple, but we fared better than we had reason to expect, and never went long hungry. Perhaps I ought to add, that we travelled in respectable style, such as gave us admission to any society we wished to enter.—pp. 67, 68.

At Demetsana, in the province of Arcadia, the travellers had a conversation with the head-master of a school there, which has been celebrated throughout the Morea for two generations past. This conversation speaks so honorably of the liberality and judgment of both parties, that we take pleasure in quoting a portion of it. If religious conversations here at home, between those of different communions, could always be carried on after the same model, we should be glad.

‘The young man wished to know the opinions of our countrymen in reference to the *procession of the Holy Ghost*, which the Greeks believe to have been from the Father only, and not from the Father and the Son. It is a point of doctrine which they magnify into great importance. We told him that it had never been a subject of controversy in our country, and that we attribute less consequence to it than the members of the Greek church do. Without pressing his inquiries on this head, he asked what creed we received. It was replied, that we assent to what is called the Apostles’ creed, and to some others, but that we regard nothing as binding on our religious belief except the Bible—no acts of councils, no articles of the church, no creeds: the Bible was our only authoritative rule of faith and worship: what that contained, we felt bound to receive; what was contrary to that, we felt bound to reject.

* ‘Pilaf is rice boiled with a little meat, or butter.’

† ‘The monks at the convent of Megaspelæon said the *yagourte* was prepared in the following manner; viz. 1. Warm a little milk. 2. Put in a small quantity of flour and lemon juice. 3. Boil the composition. 4. Boil such a quantity of milk as is thought proper. 5. Put into it a small quantity of the previous compound, and let this new one stand twelve hours.’

'In the end, he declared himself much pleased with our explanations, as he evidently was. Some of them placed us in a more favorable light than he had expected. He said nothing to either of us about apostolical succession—made no inquiries touching the validity of our ordination—nor did he appear to feel any difficulties on that point. In fact, we never heard the subject introduced by a Greek; and my own inquiries and those of my missionary brethren in the Mediterranean led me to think, that the members of the oriental churches have not yet had their attention much awakened to it. Should it unhappily become matter of inquiry and controversy, the missions of *all* our western churches will suffer—I know not but in equal degrees.

'And here I may be allowed to say, that the cardinal point of Protestantism—that *the Scriptures are the SUFFICIENT and ONLY rule of faith and practice*—never appeared to me of such vital importance, as when among the degenerate churches of the East. And I believe he will be likely to do most good as a missionary to them, with whom this is most habitually and thoroughly, both in the letter and spirit, a practical principle. He should appeal to the word of God often and habitually, as the only infallible oracle we have access to on earth, and to other standards *only* as they tend to excite a reverence for that; for "the word of God," and nothing else, will be found "quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword."

'In the evening we went to take leave of our venerable friend, the œconomos. He and his family received us with their usual kindness, and we spent an hour in agreeable conversation. Mr King was two days in this family, and they mentioned him with expressions of high regard. The old man appeared to rejoice in the opening prospects of his country, and to desire that every part of it might be blessed with the lights of science. At parting, he invoked the blessing of God upon us, and also "that of the Virgin, if we pleased."—pp. 108, 109.

It seems that Mr Anderson found all the common people of Greece, what the Cretians long since were declared to have been, 'always liars.' A lamentable disregard to truth was the chief fault which he discovered in them. Those whom he had occasion to employ, whatever might have been the diversities of character among them in other respects, invariably agreed in the practice of this vice.

The following is a very pleasing illustration of those passages of scripture in which Christ likens himself to a 'good shepherd.'

'Being wakeful at night, I occasionally heard noises from the hills, which our attendants said proceeded from wolves. The

watchful shepherds shouted, and the sheep probably escaped. I was forcibly reminded of the "Good Shepherd." Were the flock near our tent to be forsaken by the shepherd for a single night, it would be scattered and devoured. Just as certainly would it be so with the flock of Christ in this world.

'One of the great delights in travelling through a pastoral country, is to see and to feel the force of the beautiful imagery in the scriptures borrowed from pastoral life. All day long the shepherd attends his flock, leading them into "green pastures," near fountains of water, and he chooses a convenient place for them to "rest at noon." At night, he drives them near his tent, and if there is danger, encloses them in folds, and at the first alarm he is roused for their protection. They know him, they know his voice, they do not flee from him, they follow him. The tender lambs he often keeps at home while their dams are feeding on the mountains, lest they be wearied, or lost, or fall down the fatal steep. When travelling he tenderly watches over them, and carries such as are exhausted in his arms, or stops the flock till they are rested. Such a shepherd is the Lord Jesus Christ to his spiritual flock. Nay, far more: for he says, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand."'*—pp. 117, 118.

An idea of the ravages committed during the struggle between the Greeks and Turks, and also of the extent to which they have been repaired, may be gained from the succeeding extract.

'In our progress through the Peloponnesus, it was affecting to behold the extent of the *devastations occasioned by the late war*. In the province of Elis, we saw no place that had not been destroyed. In the province of Achaia, we saw only one or two,

* 'John x. 28. "Having had my attention directed last night to the words, *The sheep hear His voice, and He calleth His own sheep by name, &c.* I asked my man if it was usual in Greece to give names to the sheep. He informed me that it was, and that the sheep obeyed the shepherd when he called them by their names. This morning I had an opportunity of verifying the truth of this remark. Passing by a flock of sheep, I asked the shepherd the same question which I had put to my servant, and he gave me the same answer. I then bade him to call one of his sheep. He did so, and it instantly left its pasturage and its companions, and ran up to the hand of the shepherd with signs of pleasure, and with a prompt obedience which I had never before observed in any other animal. It is also true of the sheep in this country, that a *stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him; for they know not the voice of strangers*. The shepherd told me, that many of his sheep are still wild; that they had not yet learned their names; but that, by teaching, they would all learn them. The others which knew their names he called *TAME*."—*Mr Hartley's Journal, Lond. Miss. Reg. for 1830, p. 223.*'

and those in the interior. We witnessed no exemptions from general ruin among the towns and villages of Argolis, except the walled city of Nauplion and a few towns in the southern districts. In Arcadia, the Egyptians ravaged every plain, nearly every valley and mountain, and almost every town, village and hamlet, that came in our way. Fire and sword appear also to have been carried entirely through the two provinces of Messenia; for we saw no place and heard of none that had not been laid waste, except the fortresses of Mothone and Corone: and in Upper Messenia nearly half a million of olive-trees were said to have been destroyed. In Laconia, the only place we visited that did not exhibit the direful effects of war, was the town of Marathonesi in Mane. Nearly the whole of Mane, however, appears to have escaped the rage of the enemy.

‘From this rapid survey it would seem, that the flames were carried, either by Turk, Arab, or Greek, over almost the whole extent of the peninsula. Such was the fact; and the few towns and villages which survive the general ruin, are, without any prominent exceptions, either walled, or situated in remote parts of mountainous peninsulas and promontories, or in obscure recesses, or on almost inaccessible steepes.

‘Little had been done towards rebuilding the towns, and a long period must elapse before the fruit-trees can be replaced. Indeed a year had not elapsed when we made our tour, since the evacuation of the country by its terrible scourge, the Egyptian army. Yet had great progress been made in the cultivation of the soil. I have aimed to give some idea of this in the preceding pages. To this species of industry the people now had strong inducements, both in the necessities of their families and the unwonted security of their possessions. The government had also extended aid to the impoverished cultivators of the soil. About the time of our entrance into Greece, the President wrote to the provincial rulers of insular, peninsular, and continental Greece, saying that he designed to appropriate 1,000,000 of francs, or about 200,000 dollars, from the French subsidy, towards providing seed, oxen, and implements of husbandry, in the way of a loan to such as had been reduced to penury by the war, and directing them to make the necessary inquiries.* Yet many must have found great difficulty in procur-

* ‘At the same time the President gave encouragement that, should the treasury receive the assistance he hoped for, he would appropriate another sum to aid the inhabitants of the cities in rebuilding their houses.—Soon after he published an order, that regular plans should be observed in rebuilding the different cities.’

ing seed and the necessary aid of cattle and tools ; and considering these embarrassments, and the general poverty of the people, and the smallness of their number, the progress of agriculture was to us matter of great surprise. On the western and northern maritime plains, from Navarino round to Bostitsa, we saw, indeed, but little cultivation ; the plains of Corinth, Cleonæ and Nemea, of Tegea, Mantinea, Lala and Stenyclerus, and the valley of the Pamisus, were to a great extent used only for pasturage ; and there were numerous other arable tracts in every part of the country, that remained yet to be subjected to the plough. Still there are few points of observation, from which the eye would not rest upon cultivated patches, and often the number of them would be great.'—pp. 138, 139.

Mr Anderson was called upon to perform an interesting ceremony, for a brother missionary, in St Nicholas, the capital of the island of Tenos.

'Here we again met with our friend Mr King, and, before our departure, I had the happiness of giving him a home in the Levant, by uniting him in marriage to a lady of congenial mind—of Grecian descent, but a native of Smyrna, where her family still resides under the protection of France. It was gratifying to observe, that there was nothing in this marriage which seemed to alarm the prejudices of the people, although Tenos is one of the most bigoted islands in the Archipelago. In the course of two or three days, nearly all the people of standing in the place, both male and female, called to express their good wishes. A Greek priest, too, a worthy man, but himself unmarried, sent a pair of doves the next day, and soon followed them with his blessing, in which he appeared to be cordial.'—p. 157.

We learn from a note on the 249th page of the volume, that 'Mr and Mrs King have collected an interesting female school in St Nicholas.' Schools for children of both sexes are greatly needed in Greece, and the government is favorably inclined to their establishment. To wrangle with the Greeks about the corruptions of their church, would, at the present time, or perhaps at any time, be the height of folly ; but to instruct their poor and ignorant children in the elements of knowledge, and the pure principles of virtue and piety, is real wisdom and charity. If they can be enlightened, there is little doubt that they will discover the corruptions of their church themselves. Whatever contributes to enlighten them is a positive benefit to them. Whoever contributes to enlighten them, in any degree, is their benefactor. We believe that these opinions have not

been entertained by all the missionaries who have been among them ; but from the book before us, we gather that they are substantially those of Mr Anderson and his immediate coadjutors.

Leaving the narrative of the tour, we come to the second principal division of the work ; and we shall borrow one extract from the chapter in it which is devoted to the state and prospects of education. After speaking of the schools existing in the Peloponnesus and the islands, the writer gives the following description of a *Theological Institution*, which forms a part of the Ionian university, established at Corfu. The university itself owes all its importance to the munificence of the late Lord Guilford.

‘A THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY within the pale of the Greek church, instituted by Greeks, and with the declared design of “raising the Greek clergy of the Ionian Islands from their present declension to that rank which shall qualify them happily to influence, by their instructions and example, the morals and manners of the people,”—is an interesting object of contemplation. I shall therefore explain the nature of the institution, so far as I am enabled to do so by authentic documents.

‘The government provides for the support of thirtynine beneficiaries, to be received from the different islands in certain fixed proportions. If more are admitted, they must be supported from their own resources, or by private beneficence. The requisites for admission as beneficiaries of government, are these :—the student must be a native Ionian—must have completed the age of seventeen years—must have gone through the studies of the secondary schools—must be certified by the bishop of his island to possess a good moral character—must have no physical defect, or organic disease—must have had the small pox in the natural manner, or by inoculation, or have been vaccinated—and must belong to a respectable family. On admission, he is required to declare on oath, that, being informed of all the regulations emanating from government for the seminary, he becomes a member of the institution in order to acquire that knowledge which is necessary to the proper performance of the duties of a christian minister ; and that he will obey all the laws of the seminary, will submit to his superiors, and live in fraternal amity with his fellow-students.

‘The dress of the beneficiaries, and all the articles of their wardrobes and furniture, are prescribed with exact particularity. They must “wear a long black gown, and over this a black cloak of bombazette still longer, with broad sleeves, and the borders

lined with a cloth of purple color; and must gird the body above the inner gown with a sash of crimson-colored silk." The head must be covered with a black cap, and the hair be allowed to grow long, and hang about the shoulders, in the common manner of the Greek clergy. Numerous rules are also given for the conduct of the students, and some cautions are administered, which indicate a sad state of morals among the people. An exclusion from society is enjoined, that has an air of monastic rigidity, but probably it is no greater than prudence requires.

'The student ordinarily remains five years in the seminary. At the end of that time, if his age be suitable, and he has obtained the different degrees, he may receive orders as a deacon, or presbyter. If a student renounce his clerical profession, and retire from the seminary without sufficient reasons, he is required to refund the expenses incurred by the government on his account, and may be debarred from all public employments; and the remaining students are forbidden to have intercourse with him.

'The statutes define the studies of the seminary to be theology, and whatever goes to illustrate theology, together with the ecclesiastical services and ceremonies. From other sources we learned, that the summary of christian divinity, by Platon, late metropolitan of Moscow, translated into modern Greek by Coray, with some additions by the university professor of divinity, is at present used as a text-book; and we have the authority of Professor Bambas for saying, that Platon's work gives a faithful representation of the doctrines sanctioned by the highest uninspired authorities of the Greek church. The theological students may attend the various lectures of the university; and if they have a taste for music, they are instructed in that which is practised in their churches. In their vacations, they are required to be taught the theory of agriculture.

'Twice a month, on the Sabbath, the professor of sacred hermeneutics and the principal of the seminary, who is also professor of ethical theology, are expected alternately to preach a sermon before the students, adapted to the gospel of the day; and they are to discuss, and to enforce upon the attention of their pupils, all those religious virtues, which are so indispensable to the station for which the beneficiaries are intended, and all those virtues which are designed to bless man in his numerous social relations. The students, also, are to be exercised in preaching, at the discretion of their professors; morning and evening they must attend prayers in the public hall, with the principal and tutors; and frequent confession is enjoined upon them. When they have completed their studies, the general committee of education,—

say the statutes,—“ being assured of their talents and morality, shall give them the preference in the nomination proposed to government of teachers and assistants of secondary and primary schools. All those, however, who may be distinguished in the exercise of pulpit eloquence, shall be appointed as preachers in the different islands; and according to the conduct of the students, the reputation they shall have acquired, and the information and evidence in possession of government, they shall be preferred in the filling of vacancies, which occur in ecclesiastical dignities.”—The number of students in the Theological Seminary, in the early part of 1829, was about twenty.’—pp. 254-7.

Our limits forbid our making any extracts from the interesting chapter on the Greek Church, which closes the book. With one passage in this chapter we were somewhat forcibly struck. Mr Anderson has been stating the well known fact, that the religion of the Greeks consists very much in external observances, and that the common people are apt to hold in light estimation the christian character of Americans, when they are told that they eat meat in their fasts, and do not make the sign of the cross, nor confess to the priests, nor invoke the saints. He then adds, ‘ Yet must it not be understood, that the Greeks believe there is no salvation out of the pale of their church. They estimate the dignity and privileges of membership in their church very highly, but they set up no such arrogant claim as this.’

Do they not? So far we honor them. But if they did, would they be wholly unsupported by the example of Protestants, American Protestants, and at this very day and hour? Are there none among us who set up this ‘arrogant claim?’ Are there none who undertake to deny salvation to multitudes of their neighbours, whose faith, to say the least of it, is as honest, and whose works are as good as their own? Let them go abroad, among a strange people, bigoted like themselves, and then they may learn how it feels to be denied salvation. Poor humanity! Thus it is that rough experience must teach it, slowly and painfully. Thus it is that the blind must often be made to see, and the deaf to hear.

Whether this volume does, or does not afford a complete exposition of the views of the missionaries with regard to Greece, we are not qualified to say. We have no right to suspect that it does not. With Mr Anderson’s opinions, as therein expressed, we are ready to agree, almost word by word.

We believe that it is a good work to establish schools, and to distribute school-books and the sacred scriptures among the Greeks. We believe that money spent for these and similar purposes, is much better laid out than in getting up childish processions, or fancy balls, or subscription dinners, professedly in honor of a revolution or a victory, but really for the amusement and gratification of the vulgar and the vain.

NOTE.—I cannot close a five years' connexion with this work, which, for that period, has been the object of my thoughts and cares to which all other objects have been secondary, without recording on the last page for which I shall be in any way responsible, an expression of the gratitude I feel towards those who have cooperated with me in its management. My obligations, at different periods, have been to each so signal, that to make distinctions or exceptions would be invidious. I therefore beg them, all, to accept this public testimony of my thanks.

FRANCIS JENKS.

Boston, Dec. 31, 1831.

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